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An Irish Quarterly Review

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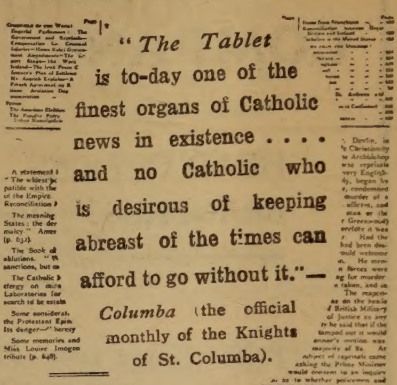

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of July, 1927.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1927, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£52,024 10 1
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	24,258 14 10
	£76,283 4 11
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500 0 0
To next Account	27,533 4 11
	£76,283 4 11

The Reserve Fund now stands at £620,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1927.

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Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1927. Cr.

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To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	383,961	6	6
,, Reserve Fund	620,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz.:—			
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,113,201	18	0	War Loan and other Government Stocks	5,035,964	6	1
,, Sundry Agents	48,812	8	11	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	165,764	17	3
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	11,455	17	5		5,585,690	9	10
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £76,283 4 11				,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	7,568,822	8	8
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0				,, Sundry Agents	14,338	7	11
	66,283	4	11	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	190,902	2	10
	£13,359,753	9	3		£13,359,753	9	3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1927.

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To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	109,921	7	1	By Balance from last Account ...	24,258	14	10
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	161,945	17	2
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1927, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0							
,, Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,533 4 11							
	66,283	4	11				
	£186,204	12	0		£186,204	12	0

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1927, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 11th July, 1927. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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STUDIES

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SEPTEMBER 1927

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NICOLO MACCHIAVELLI
1469–1527

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.
Professor of Philosophy, Milltown Park, Dublin

DURING Macchiavilli's lifetime the Renaissance developed to maturity. It was a period of ferment when new knowledge and fresh energy came to men, shook the ancient convictions without providing a coherent body of intellectual or moral doctrine in their stead, and thus made of each man an adventurer left to his own resources. The old order was passing, the old landmarks were being obliterated. The mediaeval ideal of the body politic, unified and controlled by the Church on the one hand and by the Holy Roman Empire on the other, was no longer possible since France and Spain had been consolidated into strong monarchies outside of the Empire. Guelph and Ghibelline ceased to be real designations. The communal system had decayed, and the complex modern world, its salaried proletariat, its intricate international finance, began dimly to emerge from the confusion. All the same, the outward forms of religious belief and of social life were still honoured, because a new framework had not yet been constructed; but this very divorce of form from content confused men's minds and distorted their moral judgments.

At a time, then, of intellectual and moral confusion, when indefensible compromises were openly defended and acted upon on the plea that they were necessary Macchiavelli began to write "The Discourses on Livy" and "The Prince." He had been Secretary to the *Dieci di Libertà e Pace* in the Republican government set up after the expulsion of Piero de' Medici and the execution of Savonarola, had undertaken various diplo-

matic missions without any conspicuous advantage to the State, but with an observant eye for his own instruction, had improved the military forces, and on the return of the Medici in 1512 had been racked, deprived of his post, and ordered to live in the country. He resided on a small farm near San Casciano, where he idled away his morning, passed the afternoon playing cards with the butcher and the baker, and spent the evening elegantly dressed in his study reading his Latin authors and writing his treatises. From this secluded place he looked out upon the world and reviewed his own experience, setting down what he saw in a style which for directness, simplicity, vigour, swiftness and clarity is unsurpassed by any author in the flexible and sonorous Tuscan tongue. He never gives the reader the impression that he has a design upon him; he never says anything for effect; he never plays the cynic by confusing price and value; he puts down quite simply what he observes and thinks, without any self-applause or twinge of scruple. His conclusions seem to him to follow inexorably from the premisses. He makes no further comment; with questions of ethical right or wrong he is not in the least concerned.

Italy, as Macchiavelli saw it, had yet to understand that the old order was dead and that she must seize upon the opportunities that offered if she were to survive at all. Actually, the state of affairs was disastrous. Cosimo de' Medici had preserved Italy from invasion by a skilful foreign policy. His grandson Piero abandoned the traditional mediating policy of his house by allying himself unconditionally with Naples against Milan. Ludovico il Moro of Milan, seeing himself isolated, appealed to Charles VIII. of France in 1494. The young king invaded Italy and met with slight resistance. The mercenaries who formed the greater part of the Florentine forces melted away before his advance, and Piero hastened to surrender the frontier fortresses without a blow. "The French," said Alexander VI, "have conquered Italy *con gesso*"—

a phrase repeated by Macchiavelli in "The Prince" (c. xii.) when he points out the defects of mercenary troops :—"Whilst you have no service to employ them in, they are excellent soldiers; but tell them of an engagement and they will either disband before or run away in a battle . . . that is why Charles VIII chalked out his own way into Italy."

Henceforth Italy was to be the battleground and cockpit of Europe, the bone of contention between France and Spain for centuries. Macaulay sums up the position as Macchiavelli saw it: "Public events had produced an immense amount of misery to private citizens. The Northern invaders had brought want to their boards, infamy to their beds, fire to their roofs, and the knife to their throats." And he adds the comment: "It was natural that a man who lived in times like these should overrate the importance of those measures by which a nation is rendered formidable to its neighbours, and undervalue those which make it prosperous within itself."

This spectacle, forming as it did the bulk of Macchiavelli's experience (and experience, we must remember, was for him the sole criterion of enquiry), stirred him to the depths of his soul, for he was sincerely patriotic, and gave him the impulse to instruct the young Lorenzo de' Medici, who had been restored to Florence in 1512, in the means best suited to rid Italy of the barbarian. The country could be saved only by fusing the opposing factions in the separate states into unity, and the states themselves into an organised nation. But how could this be achieved? That was the problem Macchiavelli set himself to solve.

The task would not be so difficult, he thought, if men were good, but in point of fact they were for the most part bad or only potentially good. The conviction that human nature is essentially depraved, that men are born evil and that no one does good except under compulsion, exercised the widest influence upon Macchia-

velli's teaching. He believed it to be an axiom of political science that each one was bent upon personal gain, that few were noble enough to make sacrifices for the State, of their own accord. Thus it came about, at least in Italy, that the State was defenceless, since no ruler dared arm his subjects for fear they would turn the weapons against the government, with the result that defence was entrusted to soldiers of fortune, who made war for hire, marched and countermarched to avoid battle, and conducted a campaign as if it were an innocent game of hazard—a pretence of military service which was ever at the command of the highest bidder. Macchiavelli saw clearly that the state must arm itself.

Savonarola's death, which failed to allay the fury of faction in Florence, and Macchiavelli's diplomatic experience, his first embassies to Catherine Sforza, to the King of France and to Duke Valentine, convinced him that the Ruler must be able to defend the State with the whole available power of the State against enemies within and without, if stability, the first guarantee of orderly development, was to be assured. Since the aristocratic class had been exterminated during the previous two centuries, he saw no solution other than an hereditary succession under republican forms, because thus everyone —the opulent banker, the soldier, the demagogue, the common workingman—was equally a subject under a despot, and could be forced to be good if the despot was strong. As the pagans converted to christianity found relief in the thought that they had to serve one only God and not appease a multitude of divinities, so Macchiavelli thought it was preferable to live under one master, if he were competent, than in the midst of Republicans all quarrelling for power. Furthermore, the rise of France and Spain confirmed his opinion that the interests of the State must be identified with those of the Ruler, if Italy was to prosper. Thus Macchiavelli, the theoretical Republican, came to write a book whose main purpose

was to establish a tyranny, a paradox which has earned for him a full measure of abuse.

Starting, then, with the presumption that the State is the noblest creation of man, that all interests should be subordinated to its well-being, and that it is the highest source of law and of rights, Macchiavelli set himself to instruct in the arts of government the young Medicean prince recently restored to his patrimony, and to reveal to him the means of founding a virile State with the material at hand. He ignored *a priori* principles of right and wrong, and adopted as his sole criterion Leonardo da Vinci's aphorism, which is a curt summary of humanistic philosophy—" Wisdom is the daughter of experience." In the dedication of " The Prince " Macchiavelli speaks of " the knowledge of the conduct and achievement of great men which I learned by long conversation in modern affairs and a continual investigation of the old." In modern affairs he admired Sforza, Duke of Milan, and, most of all, Cesare Borgia, whom he holds up as an example : " I know not what better precepts to display before a new prince than the example of Cesare's actions ; and though his own orders and methods did him no good, it was not so much his fault as the malignity of fortune " (*Il Principe*, c. vii.). And again : " Upon serious examination of the whole conduct of Duke Valentine, I see nothing to be reprehended." If he can find out the secret of the success which these men achieved in political affairs, his task is accomplished, for Giuliano Lorenzo de' Medici must go and do likewise.

Macchiavelli's political philosophy may be summarised as follows :—The lamentable state of Italy was due not to Fate or Fortune, which presses with ineluctable necessity upon men, but to the incapacity of Italians themselves, a condition of things which Virtue alone can change for the better. Since Macchiavelli habitually throws *Virtu* into contrast with *Fortuna* it is necessary to determine what he means by the words.

Fortuna is the reality that exists, the crude situation in which men find themselves, the raw material they did not make, but must mould to their own desires. It is an essential element of Virtu—the intellectual element—to see and correctly appraise facts, to recognise things as they are and not fabricate an imaginary situation. Virtu, however, resides in the will: one must will an end, not as a mere velleity, but effectively, a *bonum utile* in harmony with the perceived reality which is to be changed by action. Virtu, then, is the quality or habit of bowing to necessity and affirming our liberty, and, as such, is not moral, but merely the ground of morality, because moral goodness and badness do not enter in until the end of action is considered. In all cases Virtu is utilitarian, circumscribed by the possibility provided by Fortune, and free because in given circumstances more choices than one can always be made. This utilitarian liberty becomes moral when, within the limits of an imposed necessity, men determine to act in order to change the actual into a new fact either for their private advantage or the public good; if for their private advantage, the act is immoral, if for the public good, the act is praiseworthy.

Moreover, an act is not moral, certainly not morally good, simply because it is licit, that is, allowed by law and approved by public opinion, for such acts may be done by a sort of necessity. A man acts morally, in the essential meaning of the term, when he does what he *ought* to do for the good of the State even though the act be juridically illicit and offensive to received opinion. And such a man is prepared to do anything and everything which, in the circumstances, may seem necessary for the founding or for the preservation of the State. He does what he ought to do.

The quality of Virtu is found in full vigour in few men, since most lack the fibre either to be eminently bad or conspicuously good. Macchiavelli's point here seems to be that most men are substantially egoistic, but are

deficient in the force required to reduce their potential immorality to act, and are plastic under the influence of religion, of custom, of law, and chiefly of fear, doing what is useful for the common good as it were by violence. Such men, the vast multitude, are not really free, but go to form a portion of that reality which the virtuous work upon for the ends they purpose to attain.

From all this it follows that, as a rule, moral good, the striving for public welfare, is not possible outside of the State. Religion, according to Macchiavelli, is useful in restraining the more recalcitrant by the threat of supernatural retribution ; but, in point of fact, the wholly good are morally virtuous apart from all law and religion, the wholly bad are vicious in spite of all law and religion : and between the two stands the vast multitude, " ignoranti, oziosi, vili, da poco," whom religion and law mould into respectable citizens.

On these principles Macchiavelli attempted to repair the damage of Italy, though he recognised that it would be difficult to rescue it from decadence, difficult for the very reason that kept him from despair. The Italians were not an effete race, but virile still, though debased, full of *virtu*, of energetic temper and vigorous resolve, but prone to act for selfish ends. Their virtu was " virtu di fare il male." They were a people among whom religion and civic ambition were dead—" non è onoranza di religione, non di legge, non di milizia, ma è maculato d'ogni maggiore bruttura." Still the raw material was there for the true prince to beat into shape. The Church had failed. She was indeed largely responsible for the sad plight of Italy, because she kept the country divided. " We Italians are irreligious and corrupt above others," Macchiavelli wrote in the " Discourses on Livy " (II c. 2), " because the Church and her representatives set us the worst example." The Prince alone could cure the evil.

The Prince by the vigour of his personality, by the sheer force of his will, must knit the people together by

fair means or foul into an ordered commonwealth. He must not shrink from terror, from craft, from treachery, from brutality, when occasion demanded. His line of action must depend on circumstance. A prince is sometimes *necessitated* for the preservation of the State to do things inhuman and irreligious, "not forbearing to be good whilst it is in his choice, but knowing how to be evil when there is necessity" (*Il Principe*, c. xviii). He must not shrink from exterminating his relations if they show the smallest sign of becoming dangerous, nor be absurdly faithful to his pledged word, because his opponents will overreach him if he is. "Were men all good," Macchiavelli naively remarks, "this doctrine was not to be taught, but because they are wicked and not likely to be punctual with you, you are not obliged to any such strictness with them." The prince must learn how to play the hypocrite well, how to pretend to hold religion in high esteem even though he secretly despises it, how to impute to others what is severe in his administration and take the rewards of leniency to himself, never forgetting that the people are easily befooled and that "he who is neat and cleanly in his collusions shall never want people to practise them upon." In fine, a prince who has all good qualities in reality and employs them on all occasions, is in danger, whereas having them only in appearance they turn to better account. Thus, with his eye upon Cesare Borgia, whom he met in the camp before Sinigaglia, Macchiavelli in the coldest language and with the most detached assurance paints, stroke by stroke, for the edification of the young de' Medici, the portrait of the accomplished ruler.

Macchiavelli has found apologists. Some have stated that he wrote equivocally, intending by the extravagance of his counsels to reveal to the Italian princes their weakness and incapacity. His whole life both public and private, they contend, was in open conflict with the principles so unblushingly avowed in "The Prince." This

defence is too fanciful to be true. Alessandro Manzoni makes a better case when he says that Macchiavelli did not regard injustice, whether it be subtle or violent, to be the sole or primary means towards the end proposed. He wanted what was useful to the State, whether it were just or unjust: the facts, the circumstances decided the means. Croce detects in Macchiavelli the bitterness of an honest man at the evil of the world, and thinks that by the perusal of his works, by reading the horrors narrated there, we should be deterred from admiring those bad times and be fired to live by purer counsels.

Perhaps, however, the spirit of the age in which he lived explains Macchiavelli best. It was a confused and busy period. Papal authority had been weakened by the policy forced upon the Pope of strengthening his political authority against turbulent barons and ambitious princes in order that his spiritual authority, supported thus by civil sanctions, should be respected. In the interests of religion itself it was imperative to establish the Papacy as a temporal power, and once so established it was drawn irresistibly into the tangled intrigues of the Peninsula and into conflict with outsiders. This was the cruel necessity, pregnant with disastrous consequences, which enfeebled the Church through the very measures that seemed essential for her welfare. Besides this, the clergy were worldly and lacking in zeal; the philosophy and theology of Christianity had decayed; national languages began to take the place of the holy Latin tongue in which little was written that was worth reading. The new knowledge, the new humanistic culture, shone splendid before men ignorant of or dissatisfied with the old, and stimulated enquiry along lines unexplored before. For the ideal types of beauty and of character, the *illuminati* turned to the ancients. Reverence for antiquity went far—ridiculously far. It was appealed to as an infallible authority, now that the Church was discredited. "In what book," asks Petrarch, denouncing the tourna-

ments common in Italy, "do we read that Scipio and Caesar were skilled at the joust?" as if an appeal to the practices of these worthies settled the question once for all. "Men looked upon ancient literature," writes Pastor (vol. i, p. 23), "as sufficient to satisfy every spiritual need, and as alone capable of guiding them to the true perfection of their nature; and so they sought to resuscitate the life of antiquity as a whole—the decadent antiquity of which alone they had knowledge." The Humanists read Plato and Aristotle, Thucydides and the Hellenic tragedians, without ever divining the secret of Plato's reverent mind, nor the scientific process of Aristotelian thought, nor the great lesson taught by the historians and the dramatists that there are fixed laws of conduct which none may violate with impunity.

This individualistic, pagan temper of mind is revealed too in the art of the period. The artists portrayed the beauty of form without reference to moral standards. Thus, too, the output of Renaissance painters is precisely particular, the signed work in oils or in fresco, whereas the distinctive product of the Middle Ages is the cathedral, a communal work in which the personal touches are merged into a common glory, whence no man derives personal fame. In politics, likewise, the pagan spirit was everywhere. When the old systems were crumbling and no fixed stars were discernible, men were advised to hold what opinions they would and work them out as best they might, intent upon personal notoriety. Impress yourself, leave your mark upon the world, that was the chief commandment,—an attitude stamped upon every page that Macchiavelli ever wrote.

Thus it happened, when Macchiavelli composed his works, that the Church was accepted as an institution useful enough in civil society, while its divine commission was ignored, and the ascetic principles which made her a real force in the world were held in contempt. The world could not be governed by Paternosters, the Humanists

thought, nor exorcised by holy water. Independence, defiance, free thought, unscrupulous energy, these were the useful virtues. This attitude was so common and was taken so easily for granted among the Humanists, that he who invoked these principles excited no wonder and started no scandal. Macchiavelli was not in the least daring or original in his day when he maintained that the passive and contemplative form of Christianity, with its constant reference to a higher order, could not be serviceable to the State and to the maintenance of public peace (*Discorsi*, ii, c. 2). And with regard to his distinctive precepts, had not Boccaccio before him in "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium" written: "Against the tyrant I may use arms, conspiracies, spies, ambuscades and fraud; to do so is a sacred and necessary work"?

All this explains Macchiavelli and in part excuses him; but it does not justify him.

His method of enquiry was defective. Experience was his only guide, his method wholly empirical. He argued from particular instances to universal political laws and rules of conduct, apart from any consideration of final causes. We have grown wiser since then. We have been taught by repeated failures to distrust the universal necessity induced from particular instances in a restricted field of enquiry, knowing that such necessity is arrived at only after many arbitrary abstractions from reality as a whole. This great political realist took no account of one tremendous fact—the fact that man is more than a political being. After all, there must be transcendental truth to temper and restrain particular conclusions, if human knowledge is to be correlated into a complete and harmonious system. Macchiavelli made no attempt to discover this transcendental truth, nor to recognise it.

Moreover, it is quite erroneous to maintain that all rights and duties are the creatures of positive civil law. Men have rights prior to the formation of the State, and apart from the State; and there are laws which govern

not only individuals, but the body politic and its rulers. The State is not a mere mechanical aggregate, but a human society controlled by laws proper to rational beings. It must be built on and developed in accordance with the laws of humanity. It is impossible to conceive how any State could flourish or be stable if it be not founded on the recognition of absolute justice and buttressed by laws in conformity with the dictates at least of natural reason. No political entity can be securely founded and maintained on relativistic principles. And men of the most diverse views, during the four hundred years that have gone by since Macchiavelli's death, have recognised this essential defect in his teachings.

It is said that Macchiavelli's principles are always operative in political circles. That may or may not be so; but it is one thing to record the fact, and another to recommend an amoral or immoral code as the rule of political conduct. In reality the grounds of Macchiavelli's doctrine are now all discarded: his presupposition, for instance, that politics have no concern with ethics, his belief that the direction of political change is not determined by the growth of general enlightenment or by the development of new needs both social and economic in a country, but by the absolute will of a sovereign. It is commonly acknowledged nowadays, even by those who profess some admiration for the Florentine philosopher, that in so far as he embraces these views his Prince is unreal—" Il Principe," says Romolo Caggese, " è posto, nel suo sistema, di fronte alla realtà." Because certain clear facts escaped him, the Florentine realist is nothing more than an ineffective political theorist.

One principle, however, enunciated by him has a perennial value. He never wearied of advising political thinkers and reformers to keep close to facts, to hold their fancies in check, and to restrain their immediate ambition within the limits of what was prudently possible. If his advice had always been followed, empires which have perished might still be standing. J. E. Canavan.

AMERICA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

BY PADRAIC COLUM

America's Secret. By J. Ellis Barker. (John Murray. 1927. 7s. 6d. net).

America Comes of Age. A French Analysis. By André Siegfried. Translated by H. H. Hemming and Doris Hemming. (Jonathan Cape. 1927. 12s. 6d net).

THE difference between "America's Secret" and "America Comes of Age" is the difference between a legend and a piece of analytical history. Now a legend is not deliberately false; it is uncritical, and it exists to glorify a people, an individual, or a place. A piece of analytical history may be misleading, too, because it lays too much stress upon determining factors and takes no account of the transformations that can be wrought by ideas and passions. I remember how one of the ablest of political analysts was able to show me clearly that the feeling back of Irish nationalism was bound to become quiescent now that the land question was settled: the union would come to be accepted, and there would be no more revolutionary movements. It was Dr. M. J. Bonn who made the analysis, and the time he made it in my hearing was the winter before Easter, 1916. Able and earnest analyses of history or of a society are not to be distrusted, but they are to be discounted somewhat.

Mr. J. Ellis Barker's book illustrates the legend about America that is being created and accepted in various European countries. It glorifies the great American producer, especially the producer who has taken over the methods advocated by Mr. Frederick Winslow Taylor. It is wholly uncritical in this glorification. Mr. Barker gives us a quotation from "Factory Efficiency," a book by the efficiency expert, Mr. Herbert N. Casson, that reads: "The last word of Science is Service; and the

last word of Christ is 'He that is greatest among you, let him be the servant of all,'" and he sees no incongruity in the sentence. Professor Siegfried, however, is not so easily imposed upon.

> Monopolies are as unpopular as ever, and the laws against them still exist; but the State has learned by experience that if the community is to be well served, production ought henceforth to be organized according to a general plan, though not necessarily concentrated in a few hands. Out of this theory of collaboration has grown the doctrine of "service"—the indispensable password of those who wish to justify their profits. A good deal of twaddle is talked on this subject. With their optimistic outlook and enviable prosperity, the Americans like to tell you in their self-satisfied way that "service" is an essential condition of profits, and that the great manufacturing and distributing companies are not there only to make money, but mainly to serve the community. In fact, they maintain emphatically that this is their first consideration; and one has to smile when the stodgy business man declares that "service" to the community is his one and only passion, while he draws up a wonderful balance sheet. . . . "Service" is a combination of the civic virtue of the Protestant, the materialism of Bentham, and devotion to progress. It is not a Catholic conception, for though we find it in England, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, it does not flourish in Latin Europe. It is not attractive to the intellectual or the artist, who are accustomed to work individually, but it is very pleasing to the merchant, with his sense of credit. . . . Such ethics have their purpose, for they advocate honesty, good manners and kindliness. They are a marvellous expression of the practical intelligence of the American, as well as his sincere idealism and ingenuousness (pp. 178–179).

Unless American methods are adopted, Great Britain, according to Mr. Barker, through Trade Unionism, doles, and legislative interference with industrial production, will decay on the side of her individualism. "America," says Sir Ernest Benn, in one of the two introductions to "America's Secret," "becomes more and more individualistic, as we become more and more 'collectivist,' and as a natural and inevitable consequence America becomes wealthier as we become poorer." And then we read

Professor Siegfried's book, and discover that in his judgment America is already losing on the side of individuality and that a collectivist state of society is being brought about by the very methods which Mr. Barker would bring into Great Britain for the purpose of restoring individualism in production and removing the menace of the collectivist state. Mr. Barker's remarks, it has to be said, are much more of a diatribe than an argument—they mean only that he is against Trade Unionism. But what Professor Siegfried says is startling just because there is so much evidence and so much reason behind it. America's Coming of Age means a new epoch in human history, an epoch marked by " super-collectivism," in which the individual has his integrity " seriously threatened not only as a producer, but as a consumer as well."

Professor Siegfried aims at making us understand the mental climate of the United States. America is producing enormously : her working-class can go to the factories in their own automobiles, can own their own houses and draw dividends on their own investments ; her millionaires can endow with fabulous sums institutions for research and education ; contributions from her people can relieve nation-wide famines. But what kind of thought is back of and comes out of this huge production and these huge earnings ? Does it make for the dignity and freedom of man ? The person who embodies this industrial effort, Henry Ford, has declared that " the true end of industry is to liberate mind and body from the drudgery of existence by filling the world with well-made, low-priced products." Are mind and body being liberated, and is the drudgery of existence being lessened by the gigantic production that Henry Ford stands for ? These are the matters that are considered in " America Comes of Age."

In the mental climate that makes for the industrial habit and the industrial efficiency of America, Professor Siegfried distinguishes Calvinism as the first element.

There is no disputing the fact that Calvinism is there, like the Appalachian Mountains; if one fails to take it into account, one can get no true conception of the mentality of the American people. Calvinism is back of the transcendantalism of Emerson, the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey, and the Christian Science that radiates from Boston. This form of Protestantism may lapse as an organized religion, but it has established the habits, the modes of thought that go to make the politics, the conduct, the industrial effort that are in the norm of American life. But Protestantism has also another representative system in the United States—the Lutheranism of the German immigration. Lutheranism opposes Calvinism with a different conception of the state. Professor Siegfried does not suggest that Lutheranism has any important effect on the mentality of the American community; he represents it as having but a slight influence. But whatever importance he does give to the timorous Protestantism of the German and Scandinavian immigrants seems to me to be exaggerated. However, his distinction between the two systems is very valuable (pp. 33–35):—

> According to Luther all worldly laws are bad, and nature is given over to injustice and evil. In worldly matters in which the state operates, force is the only law; and therefore the New Testament cannot be applied literally. The saints must live in the world as best they can and must carefully protect the purity of their spiritual lives. In earthly matters it is the prince who has received from God the right to wield the sword and to conduct the affairs of state in accordance with the rules of Providence, which, however, have nothing to do with the moral law. The Christian is able to serve the state in temporal matters, and yet retain the freedom of his soul. This conception is one of religious mysticism and political cynicism.

Calvinism stands in opposition to this conception of the state and the individual's relation to it:—

> Calvin looked upon doctrines as a means to an end, and taught that the duty of the individual was not to concentrate upon himself, but rather to co-operate in furthering the will of God in

this world. Born anew through grace, the Calvinist has a mission to carry out; namely, to purify the life of the community and to uplift the state. He cannot admit two separate spheres of action, for he believes that the influence of Christ should dominate every aspect of life. He considers it of the utmost importance that the virtuous should take their place in the life of the community as active Christians. . . . A Puritan democracy has duties as well as rights, and this is the essential difference between it and our Latin democracies, which are individualistic and negative. A second difference, which is not less important, is the conception of the élite, taken in the etymological sense of the world; that is to say, of the moral aristocracy. Everyone cannot be called to grace by predestination, for that is reserved for the salt of the earth. . . . . Every American is at heart an evangelist, be he a Wilson, a Bryan, a Rockefeller. He cannot leave people alone, and he constantly feels the urge to preach. His good faith may be incontestable and his efforts often magnificent, but one is always aware of a certain moral superiority, which is the most unsympathetic of Anglo-Saxon traits. His self-satisfaction as a member of God's elect is almost insufferable, and so is the idea that his duty towards his neighbour is to convert, purify, and raise him to his own moral heights.

While Mr. Barker exults in the huge productivity of the United States, Professor Siegfried shows himself doubtful as to whether the system on which it is based makes for human dignity and freedom. "The true end of industry is to liberate mind and body from the drudgery of existence by filling the world with well-made, low-priced products!" But this entails standardization—the standardization of men as well as of machine-parts; it entails the dropping of the craftsman and the artisan, the curtailment of individual liberty, the disappearance of the family. All this is happening already, and, as Professor Siegfried maintains, the American industrial system is bound, more and more, to have such results. The restriction of immigration will compel the manufacturer to rely, even to a greater extent than he does at present, upon machinery. America, then, will be forced further along the road of standardization.

With the final disappearance of the artisan and the substitution

of a perfected organization in which each human unit is utilized as an annex to a machine, a potentially large labouring class is being created, with fingers more rapid than brains. The risk is that they may become so automatic that all initiative will be stifled. That will mean the end of the era of creative production by individual skill such as still exists in France. Circumstances have thus condemned the United States to specialize more and more in mass production and exaggerate the industrial side of their civilization at the very time when available hands are diminishing. The effect of this will extend far beyond the labouring class. Already with the restriction of immigration the masses have been attracted to the factories by higher wages, until it has become impossible to get domestic servants. This is a matter of extreme importance. Wealthy people can still get maids by paying fabulous wages, but the middle class find it increasingly difficult and are finally forced to do their own housework. This is speeding up social uniformity and making family life more difficult, and so reacting indirectly on the birth rate. The country has adapted itself by organizing society and standardizing even the home.

And standardization of habit and thought has an effect on the emotional life of the people that has not been noted by Professor Siegfried. All that the Spanish philosopher, Unamuno, means by "the tragic sense of life" is fading out of the American consciousness. It is becoming almost a blasphemy to maintain, as Unamuno maintains, that human life is tragic in its essence, and that it is the imminence of death and the problem of immortality that give human life its dignity. The mental climate of America does not conduce to any lonely brooding upon existence, and the notion of the cessation of our life in the world is firmly removed from public contemplation. Optimism as to here and now is proclaimed everywhere and at all times. But even as it is being proclaimed, there is bound to enter into the mind of a European a doubt as to the high significance of lives that can be expressed in the terms in which Mr. Bruce Bliven has expressed the life of the average business man in Los Angeles: "Golf in the nineties, motoring in the eighties, waist-line in the forties, wife in the late thirties

and sweetheart in the early twenties." In certain stories by Ring Lardner, in a certain series of comic pictures by the caricaturist Briggs, we are shown an emptiness of life that makes us think that the people who have been put into these stories and pictures have only a two-dimensional existence. Ring Lardner's work and Briggs's work are a real comment on American life at a certain level. Briggs's pictures, with the utmost good faith and without the satirical intention that is in Ring Lardner's stories, pourtray a life in which neither mystery nor joy could possibly enter—a life lived by a successful, dyspeptic man, a competent, unhumorous woman, and a solitary child who obviously has never played, and who will grow up to be a successful, dyspeptic man, and will marry a competent, unhumorous woman.

It is difficult to believe that an increase in efficiency of production will give any enhancement to life as it is being lived in America at present. It is much more likely that it will take away from people more and more of their individuality, and more and more of the interest and significance of their lives. When every worker has a house with a bath and central heating, with a car and investments as well, it is possible that joy and heroic hope will have gone out of the lives of the possessors of such commodities. But that more and more efficient methods will mark production in America is absolutely certain according to Professor Siegfried's conclusions :—

> Luxury in every-day consumption and the extension to the many of living conditions previously reserved for the few—these are new phenomena in the history of mankind, and are undoubtedly evidence of splendid progress. But what is absolutely new about this society which is accomplishing such marvels is that in all its many aspects—even including idealism and religion—it is working towards the single goal of production. It is a materialistic society, organized to produce things rather than people, with output set up as a god.

This, then, is the uninspiring conclusion we are brought to if our minds are fixed on the spectacle of America as

a producing agency. "By trebling output per worker England's wealth, income and power would be trebled and the burden of her war debt and taxation would automatically be reduced to one-third. High production and a return to those qualities and methods which have made England great in the past will save the situation. Unless England Americanizes her methods, England and the British Empire will become an appendage to the United States." So Mr. J. Ellis Barker concludes. And an Englishman who has read Professor Siegfried's book might well be dismayed at the prospect before his people, if powerful interests should be able to force England to "Americanize."

But that no European country can really "Americanize" is a notion that comes to one who has read the argument of "America Comes of Age." For America, in Professor Siegfried's view, is not a Europe improved economically, but a new epoch in human history—an epoch marked by collectivism, in which the dreams of Rousseau will at length be realised, but not by the methods or under the conditions that he imagined. The American community will grow more and more like "the ancient civilizations in which the individual belonged to the City State," and more and more unlike the Europe that we have known—"the Europe which has evolved from the Middle Ages and the French Revolution."

Professor Siegfried's is a valuable book, because it shows what are the logical conclusions of tendencies very apparent in America to-day. But his picture of the America of the near future as a collectivist state dominated by community opinion is, of course, only a logical construction and has only the same chance of being realised as has any other Utopia. Another writer as well equipped as Professor Siegfried, but with a different kind of approach, might, I believe, be able to show forces developing in the United States that tend to make a balance against this concentration upon production. The

society that Professor Siegfried prophesies is one-sided. But there cannot be even an approach to a one-sided society, for sooner or later an attempt is made to recover balance. We saw how in every country after the war carelessness, frivolity, and the pursuit of pleasure were set up against the solemnities of dedication and sacrifice, and we can imagine the human values that would be set up against the mechanization foreseen in " America Comes of Age." Undoubtedly there will be sections of the United States given over to mass-production ; undoubtedly in these sections individual impulse and individual accomplishment will count for very little. But there will be other sections in which individualism will have freer scope. How these two sections may be reconciled one cannot foresee, but one knows that a balance must be made, and one knows that in humanity—at least in the European and Christian humanity to which the Americans belong—there is a power of initiating unexpected things, a creative power through which the values that are counter to the " dreary pragmatism that is the real religion of America of to-day " can be realised.

Professor Siegfried does not take into account the critical movement that is preparing the way for a resistance to that purely productive ideal which bulks so large in his work. The books that have had the largest circulation in America in our time are " Main Street," " Babitt," and " Elmer Gantry,"—books in which collectivism and all that makes for the domination of the individual by the community are ferociously satirized. High-powered salesmen, psychologists working in the interest of big business, clergymen preaching " service " are not now as seriously taken as they were before these novels were read. A scepticism as to all the values maintained by presidents of Steel Corporations and Railway and Bankers' Trusts is being preached month after month by Henry Mencken and his hordes of young men in " The American Mercury," a review which has a great circulation and an

astonishing influence. Mencken, although an intellectual, aims at interesting the man in the street, and undoubtedly he has made the man in the Eastern and in some of the Southern and Western streets laugh at the idealistic pretensions of the great producers and their satellites. At a level very much higher than Mencken's there is the criticism of Van Wyck Brooks, a criticism designed to show in "Letters and Leadership" and "The Ordeal of Mark Twain" that acquisitiveness and creative power are incompatible, that the acquisitiveness of the American community wastes the power of artists born into it with results to the community that are indeed lamentable. It is true that this critical movement, as against the great drive towards more and more production, is but a little force, but its existence shows that the necessity for balance is being felt, and it questions that "dreary pragmatism," now dominant, which is making an advance towards collectivism easy. One of the factors left out of the reckoning in "America Comes of Age" is this critical movement. The only intimation given of any knowledge of it is a quotation from "Main Street" and a passing reference to Waldo Frank's "Our America."

And there is the Catholic Church. Here is how Professor Siegfried, who seems to be a writer of the French anti-clerical type, sees the Church in America :—

> From still another point of view, which is more difficult for Europeans to understand, Catholicism is a sort of refuge, because more than any other it is the church of the foreigner. This is because it is not regarded as the exclusive sanctuary of the *élite*, but much more humanly as a haven with a welcome for all. Even in spite of sincere protestations to the contrary, American Protestantism is still the religion of the Anglo-Saxon or the "superior" race. When it receives a foreigner into the fold it does not accept him as an absolute equal, and until he has been thoroughly Americanized he is never quite at ease among the privileged "brethren." The Catholic Church, on the other hand, expresses without apparent ulterior motive the invocation of Christ, "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." There is something extraordinarily

human, broad and unassuming about this great institution, where the humblest, the sinner, and even the negro (almost!) can communicate together. When one compares it with the Protestant churches, one realizes how profoundly true is its title, the Universal Church (p. 48).

The Catholic Church is, therefore, the natural rallying point of those who are being jostled by Americanization, and whose customs are being trodden under foot. In championing them the Church runs the risk of going to extremes in opposition to the genuinely humane spirit of Americanization, and also of sharing the exclusiveness of the races it is trying to protect, such as the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Poles . . . all of which are still close to the religious institutions of the past. Hence the foreign note which permeates the Catholic Church in the New World, where all its old political and religious roots are piously preserved (pp. 50, 51).

We now come to the faithful ally of the Irish Democrat, the Roman Catholic Church, which also welcomes the stranger. Its thousand years of experience have given it an insight into these pitiful crowds of immigrants swarming over from the older communities of Europe. In the persons of its clergy of Irish, German, or Polish origin, it has made the same journey across the Atlantic; so when the immigrants reach the quay, it is there to welcome them like an old friend and protector. It strives to help them to settle down and does not hustle or Americanize them, but in its tender solicitude forms them into groups that remain intact for years (p. 263).

Though the Catholic Church still defends it, believing it to be one of its strongholds, yet society as a whole no longer relies on the home for the early training of the nation. It is to the public schools, the churches, to the ten thousand Y.M.C.A's. and other associations for education and reform, to the press, and even to publicity that they look instead for the education of the masses. They pay little heed to the need of preserving for the jaded individual either the refuge of the family or the relaxation of meditation and culture (p. 351).

It is as a brake upon the movement towards standardization and collectivism that Professor Siegfried sees the Catholic Church in America; he envisages it as an institution which, "besides its powerful vitality, which no doubt leads to excessive ambition, also has great religious prestige."

Professor Siegfried, to my mind, both over-estimates and under-estimates the present influence of the Catholic Church upon that stream of tendencies that go to make American opinion and American affairs. He over-estimates it when he suggests that all, or nearly all, of the immigrants from Catholic countries are looked after by the Church and held by it. This is not the case; an enormous quota of immigrants lose touch with the Church from the moment of their landing in America. I remember a group of Czecho-slovak families whose case, I think, must be typical: they live not thirty miles from Saint Patrick's Cathedral, and the younger members of the families have not, I think, seen the face of a priest for years. These people are farmers and rural labourers in a district where the Catholic place of worship is at some distance: the older people make an effort to go to Mass at Christmas and Easter, but never think of trying to go at any other time. The children went to the local schools, which are, of course, secular with the normal Calvinistic tendency. They attended Protestant Sunday Schools. They will probably get married in Registry offices, and the young men will be drawn into the Masonic Lodge. When this sort of happening is in New York State, one can imagine what losses there are in States west of the Mississippi, in Oregon and Washington. Many of the Kleagles and Grand Dragons of the Ku Klux Klan have Irish names.

Disintegration goes on at both levels of the Catholic community. There are Catholics in society, but there is no Catholic society in America. "One has to be very rich to get away with being a Catholic in this country," a clever observer of American society once remarked to me, meaning by that that a millionaire could afford to go to Mass with the servants, but anyone out of the millionaire class who had some social pretensions could hardly afford to do it. In America the Church is not looked upon as native, and the Catholic groups except in a few places—Baltimore and New Orleans, for instance

—have no social prestige. The people whose convictions are not deep go the way their neighbours are going. The people whose convictions are deep are troubled all the time by this social pressure. "Where can my sons just out of the university meet Catholic girls of good family and education?" "Where can my girls now out of college meet Catholic young men whose people are like the people we know?" Catholic people who are well-placed and important are always asking these questions. They know that at any gathering their sons and daughters will meet one Catholic amongst a hundred non-Catholics.

On the other hand, amongst thoughtful people in America, there is a growing interest in Catholic personalities, Catholic faith and Catholic philosophy. To certain of the intellectuals who have been thwarted by Calvinism and bored by Pragmatism, Catholicism exhibits a norm that is rich and human. It is significant that in that remarkable satire upon the predatory Puritanism of the American village community, "The Spoon River Anthology," one of the few characters who are looked upon as having any illumination in their lives is the priest, Father Molloy. The best known of the American publicists, Walter Lippman, has recently published an essay praising the Catholic idea of the state. It is true that the most powerful opposition to the candidature of Governor Smith for the presidency is due to the fact that he is a Catholic. But it is also true that the fact that he is a Catholic gives warmth and colour to the conception of the man held by thousands of people outside the Church and outside Governor Smith's own party.

And Catholicism in America could improve its position by appealing more and more to an élite in America. To do that it would have to create within itself an intellectual élite. At present it is true that in the United States Catholics do not pull their weight intellectually: amongst them there is no group of artists, critics, philosophers, and scientists who have the prestige or anything like the

prestige of Catholic groups in France or Germany. Catholicism in America, it can be said, has had to struggle to maintain and organize itself. But that struggle has ceased to be a difficult one, and the time has come when a more vigorous intellectual life, a more sound cultivation should show itself in Catholicism in America.

Writing in an Irish publication one can be frank about the Irish influence upon the Church in America. If the Irish did not establish the Church in the United States, they certainly have kept it alive there. But our people, coming from a country in which the intellectual and artistic tradition of Catholicism had been broken, did not attempt to re-create these things in the United States —they had the faith, and that, they deemed, was sufficient. Had Catholic leadership in the United States been in the hands of the French or the Germans the churches, no doubt, would look better, and the organs of opinion would have more regard for tradition and ideas. The Irish leadership has not endowed the Church intellectually or artistically. But no matter for that! There can be but few Catholics in America who want to do anything else but bless the fact that the Church there has had an Irish leadership. That leadership has been democratic and expansive, and it has helped to form a church that is really of the people.

Professor Siegfried sees the Catholic Church in the United States as being closely linked to the Democratic Party and dominated by the Irish element. "We now come to that faithful ally of the Irish Democrat, the Roman Catholic Church," he writes, after having drawn a picture of the Irish in America which makes us think that he has allowed himself to be dominated by some legendary account of them :—

> It is impossible to understand the Democrats, in the East at any rate, unless we penetrate the psychology of the Irish. Brilliantly gifted, nimble of wit, seductive, eloquent, and imaginative, they are born leaders of men. Towards the middle

of the last century, the boss or gang leader in the great engineering enterprises was invariably an Irishman ; for like the Corsicans, they excel in making others work for them, and they adore being in command. It was but a step from this to politics. What they had done in the factory they now repeated in the elections, but this time they worked for their own benefit. They aroused the discontented, organized them, led them out to vote, and by them and through them they obtained control of municipal affairs, which they made their own.

Irish people must regret that Professor Siegfried's interest in the Irish element in the United States was so slight that he accepted without criticism the stage Irishman of two generations ago. He speaks of them as " swarming in the cities, where they supplied their spirit of unrest, injecting that element of devilry and charm so typical of the Celt. Without their love of amusement, mischief, and disorder, the American atmosphere might have been too heavy to breathe."

It is Professor Siegfried's thesis that America has come to maturity in our time, that she has organized herself, and that she is now entering upon a career which means nothing less than a new epoch in civilization. He does not seem to think that in that epoch there will be any enhancement of human values or any access of human dignity. And if Detroit should come to represent America, Professor Siegfried's prognostication might turn out to be right. But one can hardly believe that such a one-sided development is likely to take place in America or in any other country. And when one thinks of the people one knows in America, one finds it hard to believe that the fine qualities they possess will not flower into some fine, free, and tolerant civilization.

Amongst those fine qualities I would place their attitude towards money. They are free of that obsession about money which is upon most European peoples—Hilaire Belloc, if I remember rightly, has noticed this : they make money, but that is because it is in the convention of American society to make money and

because no one is content to live upon an inheritance. They are not attached to money. Their rich people set an example of public benevolence that the rich people of European countries, and above all, the rich people of this country, should be shamed into imitating. One would find it hard to explain to an American how it happens that rich people in Ireland have such little pride in their place in the community that they can live and die without making any endowment to the universities, the academies, the hospitals, or help to forward with the fortune they have acquired from the people the work of the state or the municipality. To the rich man in America these are obligations which he would not fail to fulfil. If in the past few generations our men of fortune had anything of the American spirit Dublin would have much more of beauty and dignity, and her people would have many more opportunities than are offered at present.

The Americans have another virtue that is rare in Europeans, and rarest of all in Irish people—they have the great virtue of intellectual humility. One can speak to great and unselected groups in America and tell them something—tell them about poetry, or philosophy, or science, or politics—and what one says will mean something to them. And this is not because they are uncritical. A European who goes amongst them to give lectures and who thinks he has an uncritical and " culture-snatching " audience makes a mistake, and a mistake that will cost him something. Their intellectual humility, their relative unconcern as regards money, are, for a European standpoint, their most remarkable virtues. They have other virtues that are not so exceptional. To believe that such a people will produce a civilization of things and not of men is to believe in the downfall prophesied by Spengler and to see in America the ultimate externalization of the culture and civilization of the West.

PADRAIC COLUM.

SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE

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WHEN we reflect that every system in our organism —circulatory, respiratory, digestive, nervous— may have a regular treatise devoted to the study of it without the possibility of discussing therein all the unsolved problems connected with that study, it will be obvious that a comparatively small number of these problems can be dealt with in the present article. We shall consider a few of the salient ones which bear on certain ills, selected on the one hand because they are regarded with much interest by the public, and on the other hand because they do not demand too high a standard of technical knowledge for their understanding. Yet we cannot avoid the technical in presenting them for consideration. We shall above all things try to be constructive in our suggestions.

Has the mortality of human sickness been lowered by the advances of medical science ? Has the resisting power of the human body towards the incursions of disease deteriorated in the course of civilisation ? Are new diseases taking the place of those which have been abolished or diminished ? What are the prospects of continued successful investigation and effective application of results to the extermination of certain diseases ? These are general problems presented in the present state of medicine. The answers can in some small measure be inferred from consideration of the special problems with which we shall deal.

I. *Attitude and psychophysical Mechanism.*—Let us first consider the attitude of the individual towards the possibilities of disease attacking his own organism. There

were prevalent in our own youth certain affections which are not much in evidence at the present time. The writer remembers a wholesome dread as a student of a particular condition of the eyelids, with secondary effects on the eye proper, which in ophthalmic hospitals swamped most other affections, the condition known as trachoma. The present day student sees it as rather exceptional amongst hospital patients. Its disappearance is due to improved hygiene and a better knowledge of its infectious character. There are many similar and dissimilar ills however to which we are still liable, and continued consciousness of their existence, with a ready awareness of the proper uses of our psychophysical mechanisms of defence, is no negligible factor as a safeguard against them.

There was recently discussed at a branch meeting of the British Medical Association a rather remarkable book, *Constructive Conscious Control of the Individual*, written by a layman, Mr. Alexander, which was reviewed in the *British Medical Journal* a little while ago. Alexander's opinion is that man's sensory appreciation, the knowledge which is derived from his feelings of what he is doing, has greatly deteriorated in the course of civilisation. A continually deteriorating use of our psychophysical selves is a cause of much unhappiness. It applies chiefly to man's appreciation of postural changes and his judgments as derived through the muscular sense. In this he is subject to many forms of kinaesthetic delusions. Bain says the muscular sense is the most important of all senses, in so far as we derive from it our ideas of space and time. A dictum of the behaviourist school is : we think with our muscles. Classically our senses are given as five in number, but this is arbitrary ; we have some additional ones, such as the labyrinthine sense which subserves the function of maintaining equilibrium, colour sense, heat and cold sense, visceral sense. Some senses are exteroceptive, and through these we are liable to

illusions and hallucinations concerning things outside ourselves. Others are enteroceptive, feeling from within, and with defects in these our feelings are frequently at fault. The sensation caused by flatus of the intestine is, by its persistence, metamorphosed into that of a devil in the inside. From that it is an easy step to adjudging some person responsible for the devil's presence, and murder may be the outcome.

Look to sensations early and keep on looking to them; so must one advise who has seen much havoc wrought by disordered sensations. Sensibility to impressions—chemical, tactile, luminous, vibratory, etc.—is a primordial property of living matter. One of the most primitive met with is that of the statocyst mechanism in which small calcareous particles give the sense of position. An experiment showing how much the organism is influenced by it is of much interest. Kreide extracted the little particles (otoliths) from a shrimp and substituted iron filings. Then with a magnet he was able to induce all sorts of gyrations, swimming on its back, etc., in the animal. All its movements, almost its whole vital activity for the time being, were at the mercy of this artificial magnetic sense.

Alexander's further conclusions are: (1) man fails to function properly in simple somatic movements, even in the acts of getting up and sitting down; (2) man is a psychophysical whole, not a structure of separate independent parts, as there is absolute solidarity between mind and body; (3) faulty function is inseparable from disease; the former is primary, the latter secondary; (4) reason in man plays the chief rôle, instinct a minor one, but instinct is still our chief guide in simple movements. Instinct is the prime guide in animals. Nine-tenths of our instinct comes from the savage in a stable environment, and it cannot be a sound guide to conduct in the changing conditions of civilisation. We cannot now depend on subconscious instinctive control derived from racial

experience, which tends to lessen health and increase disease. The attitude adopted in the simple act of learning to write is not merely physically bad, but it tends to develop a perverted attitude towards life in general. Primitive man killed strangers, and his instinct in this was not always very wrong; the stranger was, if not a killer himself, a serious encumbrance or rival for limited supplies of food. To-day this instinct is wrong; horde psychology requires a different attitude. The instinct controlling posture and locomotion is equally wrong. The stooping of *homo sapiens* is a vestige of savage instinct which warned a man against standing straight on account of the view thus afforded to wild men and animals. The present day crouch is unnecessary and mischievous. Other investigators have demonstrated the importance of correct physical attitude and posture, not merely as graceful and efficient accompaniments of muscular activity, but in maintaining tone and health in the organs of the body. They agree with Alexander, for instance, in the doctrine that the pendulous abdomen, with its many associated visceral evils, is avoided in middle age by habitual adherence to the principle of keeping the head up with straight neck, and lifting the thorax in breathing. So the advice to "keep a stiff neck" is good in a literal sense. Alexander is training pupils in the proper adjustments of the neuromuscular system to environment, and some medical men are recommending the general adoption of his methods for teaching the young. They are not merely preventive it is said, but actually curative of affections like flat-foot, angina pectoris, asthma, epilepsy, tremor, spinal curvature, infantile paralysis and others.

There is no doubt that the relations between the psychic and somatic in physiological activity of neural elements and systems are intimately connected and interdependent. The psychic function can be influenced by the somatic and *vice versa*. The explanation given of

Alexander's results, actual or prospective, is chiefly based on direct physical relationships, while a vague psychic influence is implied. It is held that physical activities of a certain kind imposed by the will on certain groups of muscles cause healthy reaction in other groups and in various organs and viscera. This direct effect eliciting these improved reactions—tonic, circulatory, trophic, etc., —certainly occurs, but there is more in it than such simple consequence. Let us illustrate and explain our theory by giving some details of a concrete instance, one of three or four cases with similar disability which were cured, or nearly so, by application of the principle involved.

A student who returned from the war in France was suffering from shell-shock or rather from some serious sequelae of shell-shock. On trying to resume his studies he found the task a very painful one. Highly neurotic and timid he was also morbidly self-conscious, depressed in mind and body and quite incapable of exercising his ordinary abilities. Drugs, exercises, amusements were without effect on his condition, yet he was not a case to be despondent about, for one could judge that there was no structural lesion. His centres had been jolted and jarred upon, and there was subversion of psychophysical functions. There were two points in his favour: he desired to get well, and he still possessed a remnant of will-power. He undertook to follow a certain line of irksome treatment and was accordingly advised to adopt the practice of sitting perfectly still, absolutely immobile with head and eyes fixed, and to remain so as long as he could. In the beginning such an effort became after a few seconds a form of torture, and he nearly abandoned it. But, to use an expressive bit of argot, he was game, and kept it up, until after a few weeks he was able to remain immobile for several minutes. He was greatly surprised to find that he could now exercise some control over his erring thoughts, while his general tone and

abilities began to improve. Thus was tried in his case, as a beginning, the effect of imposing control on simple accessible units in his sensori-motor make-up, and as a result his general self-control was restored. Why? His remaining will-power enabled him to inhibit the simple working elements, the motor nerve cells; he ruled them and made them subject to his wishes. The wayward nerve elements in the higher sphere, those more intimately concerned in mentation, were influenced thereby; they took the lesson from their humble cousins because of intimate association with, though of different function from, these other elements in the same complex collection.

II. *Insanity.*—The outlook in connection with insanity is rather depressing. It is one of those disorders an increase of which seems to be inseparable from the stress of progressive civilisation. Preoccupation, anxiety, negligence of early symptoms of nervous trouble, and the general high pressure incidental to the exigencies of modern life are all important factors in the disturbance of reason. Here certainly the conscious awareness of danger should have a salutary influence in prophylaxis or prevention. This, needless to say, should stop short at anything like morbid introspection or self-analysis which is not controlled by the trained pyscho-analyst or by the ordinary medical man who has given some thought to the subject. The present writer is convinced, notwithstanding the apparent increase of this scourge of humanity, that many forms of insanity are preventible, and that on prophylactic treatment must be based our chief hope of a reduction of incidence. Further it must depend in great measure on the general practitioner; the dissociation of psychiatry from general practice is too pronounced. No good or permanent results have been obtained in more than a small proportion of cases by direct attempts at evoking psychic reaction through the medium of suggestion, hypnotism, persuasion, compulsion. The mental units

are complex in function, too complex for that understanding which should warrant a direct approach, at least in many instances. This is not to say that direct appeal by suggestion is futile in all neurotic trouble; far from it, but it implies that in incipient derangement of the faculties we have a much more subtle method of approach through simple neural elements.

For this we must select our cases. In one sense they are easy to select because there are numbers of them; in another sense they are not so easy to choose unless discrimination be exercised, and if the wrong type be frequently chosen for the method it must inevitably fall into disrepute. If a basis for the mental condition exists in a definite lesion, or if the condition has advanced beyond a certain stage, or if it is due to a specific cause which should be eradicated, then it must be absolutely futile to adopt the methods described above. Neurotic people of this type are almost certainly bound to drift into lunatic asylums, unless they be rescued from their condition by some suitable stimulus or incentive to active life.

It does not need shell-shock to produce a similar state of the nerve centres; such states are all too common in Ireland and in other countries, and are due to disturbing factors in ordinary occupations. The causes of distorted sensibility and distorted outlook are very numerous; many persons who are thereby troubled exhibit some signs of it and are generally considered "a bit queer"; others give no warning sign before some catastrophic incident of a criminal order reveals the condition. Even in such cases intimate associates of the subject may have noticed certain symptoms, but thought it better to say nothing about them. Reference to them, they think, must aggravate the irritation. The doctor is believed to be useless at this stage, and secrecy is observed because of the stigma which in popular psychology is associated with mental trouble. This is the general attitude towards

the insidious subversion of the mental faculties. But if some enlightenment on the subject be spread—through the medium of the schools, for instance—and the people be informed that a stiff fight is needed against insanity, it will quickly be realised that the beginning is the acceptable time for treatment.

In France there is a society known as the *Ligue d'Hygiène Mentale* in which the mental specialists are doing some very interesting work by way of prevention. They are chiefly concerned with the " border-line " cases. The unstable patient comes voluntarily to the cliniques and discusses his or her symptoms with the medical man. The ease and casualness of the whole performance is a great step forward in psychiatry, as it shows how readily these people recognise their troubles and are induced to submit to treatment. Many of these go home again after the consultation; others remain in what are called " free wards," the occupants of which may quit them when they wish. Other wards are " closed," and the occupants of these submit to a period of segregation on condition that the friends or relatives may at any time remove them. In dangerous or advanced cases certification is at once adopted.

In Irish asylums insanity is said to be increasing, and some medical men ascribe this in great measure to mental stress. Heredity is also given as a prominent cause, while alcohol, according to some observers, now plays a minor rôle; but according to most observers alcohol must still be reckoned with as a factor in causation. However that may be, the indications are to look for trouble early and to be concerned about early treatment. Let us repeat that the general practitioner should cultivate interest in the affection and remember that prophylaxis is the best form of treatment.

III. *Tissue Culture and Cancer.*—A new chapter in the investigation of biological problems has been opened by the procedure known as tissue culture. Fragments of

living tissues can be snipped off and sown as seed on a medium or culture ground of suitable composition, on which the elements continue to live. The physiological properties of the cells and the modifications due to changes in the culture form the chief study for some investigators, while the pathological possibilities possess the greater interest for others—Carrel, Burrows, Lambert, Volpino, etc. Let us look a little closely into the fascinating work of these scientists. A tissue culture is quite a different thing from a microbian culture. In this latter we have whole organisms or living individuals; in the former case the elements are but small parts of an organism torn from their natural habitat, where they lived interdependently, where self-determination was exiguous, and where their lives were controlled and directed by numerous agencies in what we may call the social system of the organism. In their new abode there is no social restraint. What happens? In unfavourable conditions, even when kept aseptic, they may die and disintegrate (autolysis). In favourable conditions they survive, but do not multiply. Latent survival is that in which life without function is exhibited; active survival is that in which function continues, as for instance in scraps of heart muscle which go on beating long after they have been "planted out." Some elements exhibit a new form of activity; nerve cells, for example, throw out long processes. So far there is no multiplication or increase of numbers; the process is one of explantation.

Now by frequent resowing on fresh media, by addition to these of pulped embryos, by the free use of oxygen, employing a highly specialised and onerous technique, a true culture can be obtained, and in this the cells multiply by sub-division. Sexual cells are specially adapted to this property, but practically all tissue cells and epithelium can be made to subdivide. When this increase in numbers takes place, the surface cells of the fragment invade new zones of the medium. The new cells, with some exceptions,

lose their original properties; they become indifferent. A "pure culture" is something still more advanced; in it a particular type of cell survives to the exclusion of all others. In true culture two tissues may grow side by side, each with supporting cells as well as special cells. In pure culture the special cells of one tissue only grow, all supporting and other cells being suppressed. One such pure culture has been kept going by Carrel and Ebeling for more than twelve years with some 3,000 re-sowings. The successive generations of the original almost invisible scrap of tissue, had it been possible to preserve the whole in sufficiently capacious vessels and sufficiently favourable circumstances, would to-day weigh some tons! They can go on growing indefinitely, unaffected by age or death. This is an extraordinary thing—no senescence, no death, apparently interminable life. The agencies which terminate life, age and death, to which their congeners at home are liable, do not affect these settlers in a new land. They are, however, subject to other ill-disposed and hostile agents, by which their kindred in human form are equally attacked, the germs of disease. The tubercle bacillus, for instance, introduced amongst the colonists plays sad havoc with the whole tribe. They cannot resist this microbe's aggressiveness nor that of other similar hereditary enemies, and the resulting disease produced amongst the settlers is exactly similar to that amongst the parent cells at home.

What bearing have these facts on the study of cancer? It is not easy to make a living culture of cancer cells. But sarcoma cells, once set going in pure culture, grow very actively and are capable of finding nutrition in the most adverse circumstances. This is a feature of malignancy. Such a culture when inoculated into an animal (chicken, mouse) can cause sarcoma. Cancer was first successfully propagated in the mouse by Jensen in 1902. Some time later the Japanese scientists caused cancer in an animal by rubbing it with tar. In cultures

of other cancers than sarcoma vitality and malignity are soon lost.

The problem now set is to transform normal cells into cancer cells, a problem which once resolved must yield the first solid ground for investigation and treatment. Carrel seems to have succeeded in this. Using chicken sarcoma for contamination, it has been found possible to render normal spleen cells malignant, and these on inoculation cause cancer. These spleen cells, known as macrophages or " big eaters," not only became cancerous, which is one thing, but showed the power of producing the virus and causing cancer in a fresh organism, which is another thing. The inference, and it is all-important, from these facts is this : the cancer complex is not an anarchical organisation of a heterogeneous order within a state which is the body, *une sorte d'état dans l'état*, but merely represents an abnormal condition of normal homogeneous constituents, the macrophages or histiocytes. They are erring, sinful members, and one may hope to restore them to the fold. Some as yet unknown agency —a humoral factor ?—confers this malignant character, and by this the cancer cell is considered a perverted normal cell, a white cell gone nigger, so to speak, which may turn white again if one could ascertain and deal with the nature of the evil influence.

Opposed to the above view is the parasitic hypothesis of cancer, into which we cannot go here beyond making brief reference to the remarkable papers of Gye and Barnard published some two years ago. Those papers created a great stir in the world of pathology and biology. The results of their experiments led them to the conclusion that what is known as the Rous sarcoma in chickens can be transferred by the juice of the cancer without the cells. The parasitic hypothesis lays down that the virus in this juice, although it passes through a filter, is a living organism. Gye made the filtrate or filtered juice innocuous by addition of chloroform, and showed that

two factors are essential for obtaining a positive result by inoculation. One of these factors he destroyed with chloroform in a given filtrate, but was able to restore it from an inert culture, that is one from which the other factor had been lost. The factors could also be separated in a centrifuge at high speed. One factor is a virus and particulate, the other chemical. The virus is common to many tumours, the chemical factor is specific and common to one only. The specific factor ruptures the cell's defences and enables the virus to act. This view is an advance on the older parasitic theories, and may even constitute a link of reconciliation between the advocates of either theory. The other great form of cancer, epithelioma, when planted out grows in buds or columns. The culture rarely gives a positive result when inoculated. The animal must have an essential hypothetical substance or principle in its blood which excites malignant growth. The mixed culture, cancer cells plus supporting or indifferent cells, is necessary for successful inoculation. The pure culture is innocuous.

These results all constitute a nearer approach to a solution of the mystery of cancer, but the main fact remains that the problem is still unsolved. We may say that the extraction from a living organism of some of its anatomical elements and the continuance of life amongst them in a medium wherein they may be subjected to the influence of various reagents has provided a likely road towards a solution of some great problems of general biology, heredity, adaptation, etc. But the experience of other scientific discoveries, which have been announced from time to time and which have aroused great but unfulfilled hopes, should restrain any inclination to be over-optimistic about it. Taine, in his declining days, was asked to express a thought concerning the fruits of his labours and replied: *La vie sociale est une chose complexe.* So may we say that organic life is a complex thing. There are abysmal depths of mystery associated

with it, and scientists must continue their efforts to sound them.

IV. *Endocrine Disease.*—Paracelsus in the early part of the sixteenth century, on the doctrine that *similia similibus curantur*, advocated the treatment of disorder in an organ by making the subject partake of the corresponding organ from an animal. Thus was organo-therapy, which has given rise to so much enthusiasm in recent years, been anticipated ; but in those days nothing was known of the circulation of the blood, nor of those chemical substances called hormones which are known to be produced in one part of the system and carried by the blood to other parts where they effect activity. Certain glands in the body—thyroid, suprarenal, pituitary and a few others—are known as the ductless glands because they have no ducts or special passages by which their secretions are conveyed away. Their secretions are poured into the blood through the lymph. The term endocrine organs is given to these and to others which, in addition to " external " secretion poured through ducts, supply an internal secretion with hormones to the blood. When these organs are defective we have particular diseases, some attributable to one particular gland, others vague and uncertain as regards attribution. A feature of these organs which is now generally recognised is, as Biedl puts it, that they are closely connected with one another through intimate interrelationships.

A deficiency of production is common in these organs, but excessive activity or over-production of secretion is also a fault to be reckoned with. Myxoedoema in the adult and cretinism in the child are due to lack of thyroid material (hypo-function) ; Graves' disease or basedowism is due to over-production (hyper-function) in the same gland. The two first-named affections are " cured " by the use of sheep's thyroid, the maintenance of cure depending on the maintenance of treatment. Anyone who has seen the rapid metamorphosis effected by this

method in that unsightly and miserable speck of humanity known as a cretin must admit that the result is a wonderful achievement of scientific investigation.

Another disease due to a failure of a particular organ is diabetes, which attacks young and old of both sexes, but which has a particular penchant for the strong middle-aged bread-winner. In this there is loss of power to assimilate starchy food and sugars. If neglected, it leads to rapid emaciation with the accumulation of acids in the blood and death in coma. In addition to the defect in sugar metabolism, fats also fail to be utilised, and the precious nitrogenous material of the tissues is converted to sugar, which is lost through the kidneys. This disease is due to the lack of a hormone, which is ordinarily formed in the pancreas or sweet-bread, for which the name insulin was suggested by Sir Edward Schafer because of its origin in little groups of cells called islets. Insulin cures the disease, but again the permanence of cure depends on the permanent use of insulin, and the real problem of substituting a healthy organ for an unhealthy one remains unsolved, as do many others concerning the action and scope of insulin in general. Chemically insulin is still a mystery, and all attempts to produce it synthetically have failed. Even so the production of pure insulin by Banting and Best, ably supported by MacLeod and other workers in the Toronto school, was an epoch-making event in the progress of medical science.

Typical diabetes can be produced in an animal by cutting out its pancreas. From this it dies within four weeks on ordinary food; but given insulin, it lives the full normal period. A French physician, Dr. Hédon of Montpellier, performed this operation on a dog in 1923, and has since kept it alive, but it exhibits an extraordinary perversion of appetite. It devours anything that can be swallowed—paper, metal, stones, etc. This observer investigated some very important points connected with the subject—*v.g.*, the sufficiency of insulin alone, the

toxicity of insulin, the restoration of lost function, that is vicariously to other organs. He concludes that no such vicarious adjustment is possible.

V. *Infectious Disease.*—The prevalence of infectious disease has been reduced and that mainly by improved hygiene. There is at least one form, small-pox, which has been practically abolished and that by a particular method, vaccination. In considering infectious diseases which were common in the past, one of great interest is plague; for to man's successful fight with plague must be attributed in great part the abolition of a host of other infections. The history of plague can be followed more closely into remote antiquity than almost any other disease. It is described in the Book of Samuel, and was then known to be connected with rodents. It was confused in subsequent history with typhus, relapsing fever, and probably with influenza. In the sixth century an epidemic occurred in Europe which was particularly severe in France and was described by Gregory of Tours. It was this epidemic which gave the disease the first firm hold in Europe. In the fourteenth century it was called the Black Death and was subdivided into two types. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it practically disappeared from England as an epidemic. Plague was a disease of primitive civilisations and was banished by social reforms. A host of other diseases, now considered almost purely tropical, were at one time common in England—leprosy, relapsing fever, cholera, dysentery, typhus, trench fever, etc. The cleansing of these took origin with the conquest of plague.

Vaccine therapy has now been in existence twenty-five years, but there are two schools of medical men regarding it: one ever hesitating to employ it, the other using it for all manner of ailment. The fault lies in the absence of a definite system. The provision of a good uniform scheme gives a prospect of interesting work to young medical men.

By way of conclusion we must make brief reference to a few of the many problems which we have not considered so far. If we should permit ourselves momentarily to indulge in the roseate speculation of one day seeing all those affections which we have mentioned banished from our notice, and with them the other innumerable affections of blood, lungs, heart, stomach, etc., we should still have to envisage refractoriness on the part of nervous diseases, the die-hard group in the last ditch. There is no form of malady before which physician and surgeon stand so impotent as before the different types of paraplegia (paralysis) which are not due to some recent or specific cause. He must be an optimist indeed who can imagine the evolution of a humor, a hormone or other specific agent which could effect the metamorphosis of a degenerated neurone and provide new ones for old. For paraplegia accompanied by spasm there may be some hope in surgical treatment.

Scurvey, rickets, beri-beri are examples of disease due to lack of a food principle known as a vitamine constituent. The appropriate treatment for these meets with great success, but here too there remain some important problems for solution. What is the chemical nature of vitamines? What is the nature of the energy of their action? What relation does it bear to that of ultra-violet light?

Medical research in the Irish Free State is unfortunately at a very low ebb. There is no impetus to work in the provision of monetary grants. Our laboratories are ill equipped, and our Government takes little interest in the subject. There are potential workers if only the necessary funds were provided. It is difficult to arouse interest in the problems presented, because students feel that there are no facilities for investigating them in their own country.

D. T. Barry.

ST. FRANCIS AND IRELAND

BY GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M., J.U.D.

ST. FRANCIS, with his unrivalled supernatural gifts and many winning and compelling natural endowments, is said by his biographers to have lacked administrative and organizing capacity. And yet, as his disciples multiplied, from the first twelve to the thousands of a decade later, the necessity of a stricter organization than that hitherto prevailing became obvious. The Saint's friend and adviser, Cardinal Ugolino, both as Cardinal Protector and as Gregory IX, did much in this direction.

During St. Francis' absence in Syria his Vicars at home sought to bestow on the Order a monastic complexion, with a view to more efficient government. This grieved the holy Founder, who on his return at once abrogated the measures taken by his Vicars. He clearly perceived that monasticism implied not only permanence of abode, but also, at least to an extent, permanent endowment; whereas his own fundamental view and charge was: "The Friars shall appropriate nothing to themselves—nor house, nor place, nor any thing—but shall be as strangers and pilgrims in this world." [1]

Nevertheless, after the Saint's death, monastic tendencies revived and continued to appear even after St. Bonaventure, as General of the Order, had bestowed on it a perfect form of organization totally consistent with the Rule.[2] The controversy was at its height in the reign of Pope John XXII. In 1317 this Pope suppressed the Spirituals—extremists who had accused even St. Bonaventure of laxity. But in 1322 the same Pontiff dealt a staggering blow to the Order itself when, by his constitution *Ad Conditorem canonum*, he abrogated previous

[1] *Reg. FF. Min.*, cap. iv.

[2] *Constitutiones Narborenses*, 1260.

papal provisions, in virtue of which the Holy See took on itself the proprietorship of all temporalities bestowed on the Friars; provided these goods were of only transient character, necessary for the maintenance of the Friars, and administered by syndics acting in the name of the Holy See. Thus temporalities became henceforward vested in the Order itself, and Franciscan Conventualism,[1] or common ownership after the manner of other Orders, was legally established. And though the Order, assembled in General Chapter at Marseilles in 1343, resolved to revive the *Constitutiones Narbonenses* (1260) of St. Bonaventure and to adopt the papal declarations of 1279 ("Exiit") and 1312 ("Exivi de Paradiso"), it was not until 1428 that that Bull of John XXII was formally withdrawn by Martin V. Meantime Observantism continued to grow apace; and Leo X, after fruitless endeavours to unite both parties, officially declared, in 1517, the Observantines to be *the* Franciscan Order, permitting the Conventuals to form a separate body.

This is but a meagre outline of a very complicated historical and legal situation; and nothing is more foreign to our thoughts than to belittle the great governing capacity displayed by the Conventuals and their vast contribution to learning.

The changes wrought in the Order on the Continent found repercussion in Ireland, where Conventualism established itself at an early date. Father Donough Mooney, O.F.M.,[2] in his tract on the history of the Order in Ireland, gives the following clear account of Irish Conventualism; though, had he all the facts before him—for example, the

[1] The term "Conventualism" was applied at first to all formally constituted foundations, *v.g.*, collegiate churches, monasteries, etc. Subsequently it came to designate that section of a Religious Order which adopted mitigated observance. Thus we read of St. Pius V reforming and merging Dominican Conventuals in the Observantism of that Order. The chief characteristic of Franciscan Conventualism was the adoption of papal privileges regarding landed property and fixed incomes. Relaxation in religious discipline followed, especially from the fifteenth century onwards.

[2] See *Franciscan Tertiary*, March, 1894, pp. 321-23 (Father Browne's translation).

Inquisitions into the property of Franciscan houses in Ireland—he probably would have modified considerably some of his opinions. He writes :—

The Irish Province has been governed at all times, even to the present day, by its own prelates and other superiors in regular succession, in accordance with the usages of the Order. When the reform to the Regular Observance was introduced many of the Irish communities adopted it of their own accord, and a number of new convents were built by the Observantines themselves. Some communities, however, refused to accept the reform until lately, and these Conventuals had provincials and local superiors of their own from the time of their separation from the Observantines. The latter, likewise, were governed by their own superiors, who were called vicar-provincials, until 1517, when Leo X granted to that branch of the Order the right of electing their own general and provincials.

In course of time it came to pass that a large number of novices were received by the Observantines, and few or none at all by the Conventuals, so that they had almost ceased to exist, while the former were in a most flourishing state. Their Provincial recognized the sad condition of the convents under his charge, and proceeded, with the consent of his council, to the Chapter of the Observantines which was then being held. He there resigned his position, and accepted the reform for himself and his brethren. Thus the Province was once again united. The surviving Conventuals submitted themselves of their own accord to the jurisdiction of the Observantine Provincial. . . . The Conventuals were distributed among the Observantine communities, and members of these appointed guardians of some of the convents which had belonged to the former. Special mention is made of two, Armagh and Monaghan. . . . In this manner the reform was adopted, with manifest advantage, by the whole Province of Ireland, and is preserved intact to the present day. Some of the Conventuals who had thus accepted the reform lived even to our time, and were men remarkable for their holy lives and happy deaths. . . .

The [Irish] Conventuals were called by that name, it is true, but I have been unable to find that they possessed revenues or lands repugnant to the Constitutions of the Observantines. The exceptions were very few indeed. This, of course, rendered it much easier for them to accept the reform. Their records and official documents have perished by the ravages of time. So, too, have very many of ours.

Passing over minor indications of the presence of Conventualism among the Irish Friars in the years 1297,

1302 and 1330,[1] as contained in the historical documents which have come down, the following is the record of the property acquired by the monastery of Clare-Galway—the charters[2] of which happily have survived—and may be taken as an example, in this respect, of most, though not of all, the Irish Conventual houses. On June 28, 1327, Joannes Magnus de Cogan gave all the lands and tenements, with appurtenances, in Clonmolan, to be held by the Guardian and Friars of Clare-Galway. Again, in 1333, Philip Hamin bestowed on the same Friars a tenement and ten acres of land for the purpose of supplying materials for the Holy Sacrifice. A donation of certain lands near Clare was made, for the same purpose, by Thomas de Bermingham in 1369. John Roch, heir of lord de Cogan, granted, in 1386, to the same monastery all his land at Cloymoylan. In the same year Alice Kerry bestowed two tenements and two and a half acres of arable land ;[3] and Johanna Brun, widow of Robert Pulard, five acres of arable land.[4] The same monastery was endowed, in 1399, with a parcel of land by James Caer, dean of the cathedral of Tuam. Finally, in 1430, William de Burgo, captain of his nation, granted to the Clare-Galway Friars right of pasturage for twenty cows in the vicinity of the village of Clare. Some of these grants, *v.g.*, of the Clonmolan lands, seem to repeat themselves ; which would perhaps indicate that not all were given in perpetuity.

Another indication of Conventualism is fixity of abode; each friar being—contrary to the custom of the early period—assigned to a definite convent. Thus, in 1429,[5] John Harold, a professed friar of Drogheda, obtained papal permission to transfer to another convent of the Province. And a dearth of Friars in the Custody of Dublin, in 1469, necessitated recourse to Rome for permission that friars from the other Custodies might be transferred to Dublin.[6]

[1] See Fitzmaurice-Little, *Materials, etc., sub annis.*
[2] MSS., T.C.D., F. 4, 23 (654). [3] MSS., B.M., Lansd. 418, f. 73.
[4] MSS., T.C.D., *l.c.* [5] See Fitzmaurice-Little, *l.c., sub anno.*
[6] Wadding, *Annal. Min.*, xiii., pp. 440, 564.

Meanwhile the Conventuals continued to produce men of eminent piety and learning; and their antagonism to the Observantines is perhaps less marked than in any other Province of the Order. We have met with only two or three instances of such antagonism; while Father Mooney's researches supply none at all. Besides exercising a zealous ministry at home, and that in the teeth of virulent opposition—from the Fitzralphs of the middle of the fourteenth century to the Norreys of the middle of the fifteenth[1]—indications survive that the Friars of this period displayed activity also abroad.

Friar Symon Symonis (Fitz Symon) and Hugo Illuminator deserve special mention. On March 16, 1323, these two friars set out from Dublin for the Holy Land. Hugo died at Cairo "in the house of a Saracen," after a brief illness, on October 22, 1324. Symon resolved to continue the journey, and after obtaining the Sultan's permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre and all the holy places in Palestine, set out for Jerusalem. But he, too, must have shortly succumbed; for his detailed and fascinating account of the outward journey terminates abruptly with his description of the outskirts of the Holy City. His "Itinerarium" is of wide importance. It contains, for instance, the first reference in European literature to the nomads known as Gipsies. He proves himself a most observant traveller; nothing escapes his attention, not even the details of ladies' dresses. He frequently institutes comparisons between eastern and western customs—between Paris and Cairo. He describes polo as hurling on horseback: which brought his thoughts back to Ireland where hurley was played in mediaeval days even by clerics and religious. His work was first published in a very imperfect edition by Nasmith in 1778. Mr. Esposito has contributed articles on it to the *Geographical Journal*,[2] and Hieronymus Golubovich, O.F.M.,

[1] For literature on this fierce controversy see Fitzmaurice-Little, *l. c. an.* 1359, 1440.

[2] *Ibid., an.* 1322-24.

has published a critical edition of the text in his monumental work, *Bibliotheca Bio-bibliographica Terrae Sanctae.*

Another Irish friar who went abroad at the same period was Jacobus de Hybernia. He accompanied Blessed Odoricus de Pordenone (Frioli) in his missionary expedition (1316-30) through Persia, India, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, China and Tibet. In China the two missionaries preached in all the great cities from Canton to Peking. After spending three years (1325-28) in the latter city they traversed Tibet on foot, returning to Italy in 1330. They were by no means the first Friars to preach in China, a mission being founded there in 1245 ; but Friar Jacobus was the first Irishman on record to evangelize the Celestial Empire. Blessed Odoricus died in the year of his return (1330), and one of his biographers records that " Friar Michael of Venice, O.F.M., S.T.P., suffering from an incurable fistula in the throat, betook himself to Friar Jacobus . . . and from him obtained a letter to the shrine of the departed saint, with the result that he was miraculously cured."[1]

The Conventual friar Roger Conway, Guardian of Armagh, who died in 1357, is described as " vir excellentis ingenii et doctrinae." He was one of the most able opponents of Archbishop Fitz Ralph.[2] William Butler, O.F.M., a scion of the house of Ormond, is recorded as famous for the splendour of his virtues and learning. He wrote commentaries on the *Four Books of Sentences*, and other works.[3] During the Council of Bâle, William of Waterford, Professor of Theology, distinguished himself by two works refuting the doctrines of Wicliff.[4] The almost complete destruction of the records of the Conventuals in Ireland leaves us in ignorance of their other activities, which must have been very considerable. Their desire of expansion outside Ireland is evidenced by their efforts to establish an Irish house in the Isle of Man in 1367 and

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33. Holzapfel, *Historia FF. Min.* (Freiburg, 1909), transl., p. 229. [2] " Carrick " MS., *an.* 1357. [3] *Ibid.*, *an.* 1410. [4] *Ibid.*, *an.* 1433.

1373.[1] And that they were held in high esteem throughout the whole Order may be inferred from the fact that at the General Chapter of Assisi, 1390, it was decreed that the entire Order should thenceforth celebrate the Feast of St. Patrick on March 17th, "ritu festorum novem lectionum." For, as Wadding[2] observes, no such signal honour was bestowed on the illustrious apostles of other nations or on the patrons of Franciscan Provinces. It may be of interest to add that Ireland is further indebted to the Irish Province that, in the reign of Urban VIII, the name of our national apostle was inserted in the Calendar of the universal Church.[3]

After the formal establishment of the Observance in Ireland in 1460, Conventualism rapidly declined. Nenagh, Roscrea and other monasteries never accepted the Observantine reform, at least not before the dissolution of the monasteries.[4] Indeed, there are as many as twenty Conventual houses of whose transition to the Observance there is no explicit record either in Mooney or in Wadding, or in the *Brevis Synopsis* or in the "Carrick" MS. History of the Province. This, however, may not imply more than that these authors were unable to ascertain the precise date of the transition. Still, as late as 1543, "some Conventual houses still existed, not destroyed by the Heretics;" and Shane O'Neill, "the most excellent and illustrious Catholic Prince of Ulster," petitioned the Holy See, through his procurator in the Roman Curia, Owen Mac Crimic [*sic*], to give them a Provincial. The petition was granted, but it was an Italian Provincial who was appointed.[5] This provision could hardly prove acceptable; and hence, probably, the situation described by Mooney[6]:—

It was here [Armagh] that the Conventuals accepted the reform,

[1] See Fitzmaurice-Little, *l.c.*, *annis dictis*.

[2] *Annales Min.* ix., 96. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Mooney, *l.c.* (1895), pp. 99, 100, who observes: "At the time of the suppression Ros rea Convent was occupied by the Conventuals;" though founded as late as 1490.

[5] *Annales Minorum* (continued), xviii., pp. 28, 29. [6] *l.c.* (1894), pp. 97, 98.

of which I have spoken, for all the convents under their jurisdiction. They were moved to this by the persuasive words of Walter Mac Ward, then Provincial of the Observantines, and more strongly still by the influence of John O'Neill [Shane the Proud], Prince of Ulster, who actively exerted himself in the good cause. Apostolic letters were then issued from Rome establishing the reform in all the convents in Ireland.

Just as on the Continent, so in Ireland, zealous promoters of the observance of the Rule in all its purity were at no period wanting.[1] The Observantines first prominently asserted themselves in the year 1417;[2] thenceforward they made rapid progress. In 1458 Friar Nehemias O'Donochu made his way to the General Chapter in Rome, postulating that the Observance be formally and officially established in this country; the result being that he himself was appointed Vicar Provincial of the Observantines in Ireland. He did not return until two years later, having tarried in France. He is described as "a man of holy life and religious zeal."[3] He was succeeded by a series of Vicars Provincial, whose names and some of whose qualifications have come down. There was Dermot M'Kegan (1462), "a man of wonderful patience." Malachy O'Clumhain (1466), "a learned and holy man." Dermot O'Fogarty (1468), "a man of saintly life, simple-minded and of gentle disposition." Donnell Thomas (1469), "specially skilled in Law." Donnell O'Fallon (1486), "the most distinguished preacher of his time." To him the *Annals of Ulster*[4] testify: "Domnall Ua Fallamhain, namely, Friar Minor of the Observance and the preacher that did most service to Irishmen since Patrick was in Ireland." He was appointed Bishop of Derry, May 16, 1485.[5] The author of the "Carrick" MS.[6] adds that the Bishop lost his sight soon after his promotion, and not only bore the privation with unspeakable patience, but continued his apostolate, which

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[1] *Brevis Synopsis* (transcript, Franciscan Library, Dublin), pp. 50, *sqq*
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] III., p. 305. [5] Wadding, *Ann. Min.*, xiv., 399.
[6] *Anno* 1550.

was fruitful in innumerable conversions, till his death, at nearly the age of ninety, in 1550.[1] Donal Thomas (1474) was elected Provincial at the Chapter of Rosserily, but resigned in order to undertake the founding of Donegal, so feelingly urged by Lady Finola O'Brien, wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Nicholas O'Naraign (1484) was "a famous preacher." Conor McHugh (1504), "a learned and religious man." William O'Neylan (1507), "a celebrated preacher." Flan O'Daly (1510), Doctor of Theology and "a vigorous defender of our holy state." Philip O'Mearagh (1513), "a prudent and eloquent man." He was the last of the Vicars-Provincial, the Order in Ireland, as elsewhere, being henceforward governed by by Ministers-Provincial. William O'Machrain, "a man of saintly life and edifying conversation," was the first Minister-Provincial to be nominated (1518). The names of his successors to the present day have all come down to us.

It may be of interest to add the dates on which the Conventual houses passed over to the Observance :—

Youghal, in 1460. Cork—"speculum totius Hiberniae"—before 1500. Athlone, in 1518. Carrigfergus, in 1517 (*al.* 1497). Waterford, in 1521-33. Dublin, *c.* 1521. Cashel, in 1538. Drogheda, *c.* 1521. Timoleague, in 1460. Limerick, *c.* 1534. Clonmel, 1536. Wexford, in 1486. Kildare, in 1450 (*al.* 1420). Armagh, in 1518. Galway, in 1460. Multyfarnham, in 1460. Trim, in 1525. Ennis, 1460. Ardfert, in 1517. Dundalk, in 1549 (*al.* 1554). Cavan, in 1502. Bantry, in 1432. Roserilly, *c.* 1470. Kilconnel, in 1467. Askeaton, in 1513 (*al.* 1520).

The fifteenth century is remarkable in Irish Franciscan history for the rise and rapid spread of another active and influential institution—the Third Order Regular of St. Francis. In 1381 the Irish Province is described as having "4 Custodies, 3 Convents of Poor Clares, and 4 Congregations of the Third Order of Penance."[2] Here the reference is to the Third Order Secular; and it is a remarkable fact that this is almost the only reference, as

[1] See *Annals of Ulster*, *l.c.*, p. 451.

[2] Ragusa MS., *ap.* Fitzm.-Little, *l.c.*, p. 163.

far as mediaeval Ireland is concerned, to an organization so widespread and powerful on the Continent. Our Irish Annals refer to princes and chieftains dying or being buried in the habit of St. Francis; but this hardly connotes their enrolment in the Third Order, except perhaps on their death-bed. But there are isolated exceptions. Lady Finola O'Brien, daughter of Conor-na-Srona and wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, "after the death of her husband . . . built a house beside the convent [Donegal, of which she was the foundress] . . . assisting at Mass and the Divine Office in the Church of the Friars,"[1] "She was in the habit of St. Francis for two and twenty years when she died, 1528."[2] Of her husband one author[3] writes: "in habitu S. Francisci *pie vixit*"; but this statement is not confirmed by any other source. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Roderic Odeargh, who built part of Adare, was a Secular Tertiary; as was also Marianus O'Hickey, who built the refectory and northern choir of the same monastery. The latter subsequently joined the First Order, and died in the odour of sanctity.[4]

If, for what we are aware, Secular Tertiaries had been numerous at this period, they must have followed the example of many of their brethren on the Continent and resorted to the cloister. A rescript of Martin V,[5] in 1426, to the Brothers and Sisters of the Third Order of Penance in Ireland clearly implies that the grantees had monasteries and churches of their own. In 1428 the same Pope granted special indulgences towards "the repair and conservation of the Church of the House of St. Mary, Cyllynbonnayn [Killina-Bonaina] of the brethren of the Third Order of St. Francis in the diocese of Tuam."[6] And a decree of Eugene IV, 16 Dec., 1441,[7] recites that two priests of the Third Order had conferred upon them,

[1] Mooney, *l.c.* (1894), pp. 100-1.
[2] *Annals of Ulster* and *Four Masters, ad an.* 1528. [3] *Brevis Synopsis* (Donegal).
[4] Wadd., xiii., pp. 364-5. See *ibid.*, p. 378.
[5] *Ibid.*, x., 406. [6] *Ibid.*, 445. [7] *Ibid.*, xi., p. 420.

by the Bishop of Clonfert, the parish church of Clonkeen with a third of its endowments, to convert it into a monastery " for the propagation of religion and the increase of divine worship." The Calendars of Papal Letters contain other instances. The prestige enjoyed by members is evidenced by the number of secular priests and canons whose offices and benefices became vacant because they had joined the Third Order Brethren.[1] And that they were intimately associated with parochial life is obvious from the rescript of Nicholas V,[2] 31 August, 1448, ordering the Archbishop of Tuam to collate and assign to John O'Brogan, professed of the Third Rule of St. Francis, the perpetual vicarage of Kyllimaelcoysny (!) in the said diocese.

The papal document which throws most light on the constitution of the Third Order Regular in Ireland is that of Calixtus III,[3] in 1456, from the recitative part of which, as supplied by the Irish petitioners, it appears that there were in this country monasteries of women as well as of men, following the Rule of the Third Order. The implication of the rescript of Martin V (1426) is hereby confirmed ; and it may be taken as certain that monasteries of both sexes flourished in Ireland at this period.

Father Mooney[4] writes :—

> They [brethren of the Third Order Regular] were subject, from their first institution, to the jurisdiction of the Superiors of the First Order, and on many occasions, in my own days, I have known members to have been transferred from one convent to another, in the interest of the society, by the prelates of our Order. Our provincial also made a visitation of their monasteries each year, and in his absence they requested the guardian of the convent in whose limits they lived, to appoint a visitator who might examine into and correct abuses.

Mooney is writing of the practice in his own day. From the above-mentioned decree of Calixtus III it is obvious that the question of supreme jurisdiction and

[1] C.P.L., ix., pp. 170, 199 ; x. p. 395. [2] *Ibid.*, x., p. 414. [3] Wadding, x., p. 406. [4] *l.c.* (1896), p. 35.

powers of visitation were as variable in Ireland as on the Continent. In the present instance Pope Calixtus deputed a member of the Third Order itself to be perpetual visitator of all the Irish Houses, on whose demise another member of the same Order was to be elected.

To sum up, it appears that the function of this Order in the fifteenth century was partly pastoral and partly educational. "They were principally engaged," writes Mooney, "in assisting the local clergy in their pastoral duties and in conducting schools for the education of the boys of the district. A portion of their monasteries was invariably set apart for the latter purpose, which continues to the present day to be called 'the schoolhouse.'"

The communities consisted of priests and lay-brothers. The number of their monasteries has not been, so far, accurately determined. I have seen it stated that they possessed as many as sixty or more. Considering that the institution was only a hundred years in existence at the Suppression, this computation may be hardly admitted. "The Third Order Regular," writes a continuator of Wadding's *Annals*,[1] "had at least 32 convents." Archdall, in his *Monasticon*, gives an account of some 30 Third Order monasteries. Critical study is necessary before we can reach an approximately accurate estimate. Bangor, for example, is generally accepted as having been handed over to the Third Order. It is in Archdall's[2] list, who mentions Wadding as his authority. Wadding, however, makes no such statement,[3] as Archdall would have perceived had he examined the *Annales* first hand instead of trusting to Allemande. The concession of Bangor to a priest of the Third Order was purely personal; for the papal document of 1468 clearly enjoins on this priest that he must first profess the vows of the Canons of St. Austen before he could qualify to take over the government of Bangor.[4]

GREGORY CLEARY.

[1] *Ann. Minorum*, xviii, p. 29. [2] P. 110. [3] *Ann. Min.*, xiii., p. 433.
[4] See *De Annatis Hiberniae*, Costello-Coleman, p. 117.

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL STRUGGLES

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

A SPECIALIST is apt to let his speciality come between him and the universe, and the historical student who digs in the records of the past for one particular metal is not unlikely to lose himself in his own little heap of selections and to treat as waste the immeasurably varied elements in human story which do not come within the specialist's terms of reference. Moreover, the digger does not mine his metal in a free state; it is found only in ore, and it has to be treated in relation to factors which the specialist is ill-equipped to appreciate.

Two works are reviewed in this article.[1] M. Brizon's book is not to be criticised, but to be recommended. It is a fascinating compendium of facts relating to the life and labour of the people of France during ten centuries. The delightful reproductions of old engravings with which the book is richly illustrated are not more vivid than the text in bringing before our eyes scenes of everyday life as it was lived by the common man.

M. Beer has written one work published in five volumes. The different title for each volume is doubtless due to the publisher's desire not to discourage the purchase of separate volumes. The title of this article is the one that would best serve for M. Beer's work. Socialism and social struggles are distinct subjects; they are, it is true, closely related, but each of them has several other relations not less intimate, and M. Beer's endeavour to treat

[1] *Social Struggles in Antiquity, Social Struggles in the Middle Ages, Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners, Social Struggles and Thought, Social Struggles and Modern Socialism*, by M. Beer. London: Leonard Parsons. 6s. per volume.

Histoire du Travail et des Travailleurs, par Pierre Brizon. Brussels: Editions de l'Eglantine. 12 francs.

two things as one is responsible for some incongruities in his history. M. Beer is a disciple of Marx, who was, in his way, a disciple of Hegel. M. Beer says : " In the view of both Hegel and Marx the clash of contradictions and the accentuation of antagonisms are the most effective means for the development of life and the thorough working out of all the universal forces." Marx believed that all the most important social developments were the outcome of class struggles based upon opposing interests. Inspired with this belief of his master, M. Beer has gone to history, and he has gathered together everything he could find about social struggles. The result is five interesting and useful volumes which, though their author is innocent of intending it, bring home to the reader the utter inadequacy of the Marxian view of history. If the Marxian theory of history were true, a history of social struggles would approximate to a general history of man and his civilisation. M. Beer's five volumes are as far from being the whole story of man as would be a history of clerical celibacy. M. Beer is a candid writer, but he is not always familiar with the subjects he encounters. At the beginning of his work there is an ingenuous remark :—

> As we have discovered that there is a certain regularity in the development of peoples, we are justified in making a generalisation or devising a theory that all peoples in the primitive social stage were unacquainted with individual property in land, lived on the basis of equality, and were organised in tribes. The primitive period ends when the tribes become settled, and are gradually organised on a territorial basis (in communities, villages, towns, provinces, and countries), devoting themselves to agriculture. The settlers endeavour to continue the old social form, as they do not know of any other, but the new economic conditions require a new order, and soon the former homogeneous society begins to disintegrate into class divisions. Towns are built ; trade and commerce begin to develop ; and common ownership is replaced by private property.[1]

Thus does the theory of evolution emancipate a

[1] *Social Struggles in Antiquity*, pp. 12-13.

historian from the tedious task of ascertaining and recording unsymmetrical facts! But M. Beer's easy generalisation is not merely unproved: it is disproved. Fustel de Coulanges showed that there is not a single instance in history of a society without private ownership of land, and that as far as the evidence goes private ownership is a primordial fact, contemporaneous with the earliest cultivation of the soil.[1]

Having himself accepted a modern myth of primitive communism and equality, M. Beer explains the Biblical account of the Garden of Eden as the idealised tradition of those who suffered injury and oppression in the course of society's evolution towards private property. The primitive communism, regretfully remembered by the better part of mankind, suffices to explain not only the theological doctrine of the Fall of Man, but the philosophic theory of the State of Nature or Natural Rights. After two brief extracts from Plato and Aristotle, our author says :—

> These quotations from Plato and Aristotle contain a good fragment of natural rights. The perfecting and diffusion of this conception was, however, the work of the Stoa in the third century. The founder of the Stoic school of thought was Zeno, who flourished about the year 300. Since the second century B.C. the disciples of this school have exercised a very considerable influence in Greek cultured circles, upon the thinkers of the Roman Empire, and upon the whole of civilised and Christian Europe until the present day. All the thinkers of Utopian Communism and of Anarchist Communism, have in great measure, come under this influence.
>
> The doctrine of natural rights is a protest against the civil and legal institutions of the State which have arisen on the basis of private property. It is an idealisation of the democratic conditions of equality which characterised primitive communism.[2]

One may speculate whence M. Beer derived this misconception of the Greek doctrine of Nature and Natural Law. There have been modern idealisers of the noble

[1] See *The Origin of Property in Land*, by Fustel de Coulanges. (English translation published by Swan, Sonnenschein, London, 1904).

[2] *Social Struggles in Antiquity*, pp. 19-20.

savage; but there is no trace of such romanticism in Aristotle and the great philosophers who made the maxim, Live according to Nature, the basis of their moral teaching. The ancients did indeed regard the natural as the ideal, but the natural was what was perfected, not what was primitive; it was determined by the end, not by the beginning. After such elementary blunders in history and philosophy, M. Beer does not commend himself as a safe guide, but his compilation of historical instances of social struggles and socialistic theories remains of great interest.

A dominant impression given by his work is that our modern problems are extremely ancient, and the reforms that appear to be coming are those that actually arrived hundreds and even thousands of years ago. Aristophanes anticipated, and demolished, Mr. Bernard Shaw. But if history repeats itself, it does so with a difference. Not all social struggles are class struggles. The Marxian may interpret every voice raised against the oppressor as a call to class war, but it is sheer stupidity to confound Hesiod, Plato, the Hebrew prophets, Lycurgus, Spartacus, the Gracchi, St. Francis of Assisi, Blessed Thomas More and Karl Marx as apostles of communism or class war because they may have denounced the iniquities of the rich or criticised the abuses of private property.

The history of communism, ancient, medieval and modern, makes strikingly clear its incompatibility with family life. The communism of religious orders is not an exception to this rule, for with them communism is accompanied by celibacy. Plutarch says of Lycurgus, the founder of Communist Sparta, that he was studious "to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy by making it quite respectable to have children in common with persons of merit." Plato's ideal communism extended to wives and children. Manicheism was against both private property and marriage, and this was a mark of all the strange heretical, communist sects

that conspired against the social order of the Middle Ages. The general name of Cathari (from the Greek *katharoi* = the pure) is given to the multitude of heretical sects from the eleventh century onwards, the Albigenses, the Waldensians, and many others. From Cathari is derived the German term for heretic, *ketzer*.

We do not know a great deal of these communistic sects. Their writings were destroyed by orthodox authority, and their doctrines have to be gathered from the writings of their opponents. Among modern historians Döllinger has paid much attention to them, and he is quoted by M. Beer :—

> Every heretical doctrine which arose in the Middle Ages had explicitly or implicitly a revolutionary character, that is, in the measure that it attained to a commanding position, it threatened to dissolve the existing political order and to effect a political and social transformation. Those Gnostic sects, the Cathari and the Albigenses, which specially provoked the harsh and ruthless legislation of the Middle Ages, and had to be put down in a series of bloody struggles, were the Socialists and Communists of that time. They attacked marriage, the family and property. Had they triumphed, a general upheaval and relapse into barbarism and heathen licentiousness would have been the consequence.[1]

Although we have not the writings of the medieval heretics, there is no suspicion of it being a libel to say that their opposition to private property extended to marriage. Their sympathetic Socialist historian, Karl Kautsky, has pointed out that their aversion to marriage was the inevitable corollary of their condemnation of property. Some extracts from Kautsky will make this clear :—

> Communism in the means of *production*, after which the modern social democrat strives, is quite compatible with separate family life. Not so, however, common property in the articles of *consumption*. The private household, the private family, has always a tendency to demand the recognition of private property. Where the right to private property has been abolished and separate family life has been permitted, communism of this particular kind has proved to be untenable. . . . .

[1] Quoted in *Social Struggles of the Middle Ages*, p. 138.

Communism in articles of consumption, therefore, leads to a certain hostility to separate family life, and necessarily also to a certain dislike of individual marriage. . . .

This is no mere speculative conclusion. We find this aversion to family life and marriage in Plato, in the Essenes, in the cloister, and also in some communistic societies in the United States.

These examples not only prove that aversion to marriage is necessarily connected with this primitive communism, but also that the feeling can be expressed in very different ways; by the demand for celibacy on the one hand, and by the common possession of women on the other.

The general bias of medieval communism on the marriage question is easily understood, as well as its uncertainty on the point. The consequences of its tenets drove its partisans to require either complete continence, or the possession of women in common; but their whole environment, their petty citizenship and small peasant households made separate families and separate marriages necessary. . . .

Medieval communists held very diverse opinions on marriage: one marked characteristic, however, distinguished them all, viz., a determined hostility to the matrimonial state. This hostility appears among the oldest of medieval communistic sects, the Waldenses, which arose in the south of France in the second part of the twelfth century. . . . While, however, all these sects comprehended, under the term "celibacy," the restraint from every kind of sexual intercourse, the "brothers and sisters of the Free Spirit" (a sect which sprang up in France in the fifteenth century) found a bolder and plainer solution of their matrimonial problem. Next to communism they claimed full, unbridled liberty for mankind, their conception of celibacy being complete sexual freedom, although marriage was prohibited.[1]

The Anabaptists of Munster in the sixteenth century proceeded from communism to polygamy. It would be unjust to paint the heretics only in black. Readers of the life of St. Dominic, for instance, and his work against the Albigenses, know that the strength of the Albigensian doctors lay not only in their very considerable learning but in the asceticism of their lives. The Cistercians, who preceded the Dominicans upon a mission to convert the heretics, made the mistake of travelling in pomp and luxury, which caused the populace to compare them

[1] *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation*, by Karl Kautsky. English translation published by Fisher Unwin, London, 1897, pp. 15-18.

unfavourably with the austerities of their puritanical opponents. Not that the communistic heretics, even in their most zealous days, generally acted according to strict principles. Catholic controversialists were not slow to point out that, though they professed communism, there were rich and poor amongst them. It often happened that the strongest supporters of the sectaries were the nobility. St. Bernard testified that in his time almost all the knighthood of Languedoc was heretic. The property and wealth of the Church did raise real difficulties to genuinely religious men. Those who were most loyal to the Church thought out various remedies, of which the evangelical poverty of the Franciscans and Dominicans is an example. There was, as students of ecclesiastical history know, a long controversy within the fold of the Church as to the nature and obligation of evangelical poverty. Lay nobles who had not the least intention of embracing poverty themselves favoured those theologians who would make it obligatory on all clerics.[1] M. Beer says :—

> The demand that the Church should be propertyless was actually understood by the secular power only in the sense that the Church ought to renounce her material possessions in favour of the Crown and the landlords. Consequently the Reformers who supported this demand, but were indifferent to communism and the peasants' programme (like John Huss) or definitely opposed to them (like Luther), were the darlings of the nobility.
>
> It was otherwise with Wycliffe. At first he was in favour with the higher nobles, but as soon as the latter perceived whither his doctrines led, they fell away from him.

It is a peculiarity of M. Beer to regard John Wycliffe as a forerunner of English Socialism, but this is founded on a misconception of the teaching of Wycliffe, who always continued to enjoy the patronage of John of Gaunt, the greatest of the great nobles and the one most hated

[1] " The desire of plunder is a frequent element in reforming policy ; and in the days of Richard the Second a party of the nobles, equally with the socialistic rebels of 1381, though they started from entirely opposed principles, tended towards schemes of spoliation."—*Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, by R. L. Poole, p. 58.

by the English peasants. Wycliffe taught that all rights of dominion and of property were only valid if the possessor were in a state of grace; by sin such rights were forfeited. This was a spiritual fact, and as such it applied to laity as well as to clergy, but Wycliffe did not propose to translate it into worldly fact and civil law. Mr. Reginald Lane Poole says:—

> Wycliffe's communism is thus expressly limited to a world not present, but to be looked for and worked for: nor only thus; it is also limited to a field of possession other than that of human or temporal agreement. Earthly loss is heavenly gain, and the care of earthly things is a barrier to our love of those which are our proper objects."[1]

Religious communism has a great history; but it is worlds apart from the communism that is merely an expression of class revolt or economic discontent. It is astonishing that the students of communism who dwell upon all the vagaries and eccentricities of which history holds record should ignore the fact that, while heretical communisms have been transient, there is an orthodox communism that flourishes exceedingly to-day and has flourished for centuries in the Catholic Church. Anyone who takes an hour's bus ride at random through London streets will pass half a dozen or more convents; or if anyone takes a motor ride into the country he will probably encounter monasteries as well as convents. If this is the case in Protestant England, much more is it the case in a Catholic country. The houses where Catholic religious dwell are communistic settlements, and communism in the Catholic Church is so old-established and so well-established, so free from friction and breakdowns that it is never noticed by those who excavate the ruins of a dead past and speculate on the possibilities of a remote future.

Religious communism is a success precisely because it is not derived from economic motives, which Marxians believe to dominate everything. Religious communism

[1] *Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners*, p. 40.

[2] *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning*, p. 261.

comes not from revolt, but from renouncement; it is not a method of abolishing poverty but of cultivating it. Nor is it a form of Stoicism which expects to find happiness in the elimination of desire, or of Manicheism which looks upon the world and the body as evil. Our historians, who tell us so much about the Essenes and the Gnostics, are strangers to the motives and convictions that send young men and young maidens daily from all ranks and classes to join religious orders, and that sustain them all their lives long in the sacrifices which practical communism entails.

Revolutionary communism has indeed a religious aspect, inasmuch as that, until quite modern times, when the poor revolted against the rich, they almost invariably appealed to ideas of Christian equality. Distorted those ideas may have been, yet they give a certain dignity and meaning to outbreaks that otherwise would have seemed sheer desperation and savagery. They show, it may be observed, that religion, so far from being "the opiate of the poor," is more plausibly to be criticised as strong wine which sometimes makes multitudes "heady."

The age of the Reformation was an age of social struggles and of bold social criticism and constructive thought. The finest social philosophy of that age is contained in the writings of Blessed Thomas More. It is a commonplace of history that the English Reformation was a triumph of the rich over the poor,[1] and M. Beer's account would show the same to be true of Germany, though among those who were crushed in Germany were the heretical sects inclined to communism. More than any other country in Europe, Germany suffered an abomination of desolation in consequence of the religious schisms which began with Luther.

In the nineteenth century Marx professed to make Communism or Socialism independent of religious and

[1] The most recent account is in Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* John Murray, London, 1926).

even of moral ideals : it was to be the inevitable outcome of economic evolution, an egg laid by the capitalistic hen which when hatched would devour its parent. M. Beer is a devout Marxian. He brings his review up to the year 1920, and gives us the latest Socialist news from every country on the map. Thus he says : "China finds herself in the throes of the industrial revolution ; Labour is awakening and joining the international Labour movement. Capitalism is fulfilling its revolutionary mission, preparing even in the Far East the soil for the seed of Socialism."

It is impossible to argue with a prophet ; but we should have more faith in his foretellings about the East if similar expectations had not remained so long unfulfilled in the capitalistic West. It is true that the world is in a ferment and that the world is more absorbed in economic questions than in any others. Capitalism is doubtless, in some respects, a revolutionary force, and the existing system is no more assured of immortality than any of its predecessors. Vast changes may be in store for us. These are platitudes about Capitalism ; but what can be said of Socialism or Communism ? Are they to be the systems of the future ? There is little sign of it. The characteristic doctrines of Marx are discredited. The Marxians are but a dwindling sect among the Socialists. The Majority Socialists in countries where the Socialist movement has longest existed are no longer doctrinaires, but simple opportunists. Socialism in these counties has become a respectable, conservative force, quite at peace with Capitalism. Communism has arisen to take up the cry for revolution.

What is the relation and the difference between Socialism and Communism ? It used often to be said that Communism meant common ownership of everything, while Socialism meant only common ownership of capital. This was never a real difference. Modern Socialists and Communists have both been concerned only with attacking the private ownership of means of production. The

Communist has not been pedantic enough to object to privately-owned toothbrushes. The Communist to-day is one who believes in achieving Socialism by violent and revolutionary means, because, with a good deal of horse sense, he does not expect any gentler means to be adequate. The Socialist who is not a Communist believes that revolution means chaos, and he trusts to the inevitability of gradualness. When Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1849 they preferred to call themselves Communists because at that time the name Socialist was adopted by all sorts of harmless visionaries and conservative reformers. Later in the century Socialism became more exclusively associated with subversive movements, and it therefore became more satisfactory to Marx and Engles, who then described themselves indifferently as Communists or Socialists. Still later, in the present century, Socialism was watered down to make it vague and undisturbing. Those Socialists who believe that Socialism is worth having, even at the price of revolution, now call themselves Communists to distinguish themselves from those whom they regard as sham Socialists. Socialism has ever been a vague word. There were always numerous varieties of Socialists—the Marxian Socialist, the State Socialist, the Guild Socialist, and so on. Nowadays the typical Socialist believes neither in Marx nor in the State nor in Guilds, nor in anything except gradualness.

If a prophet says, "The world is becoming State Socialist," or "The world is becoming Guild Socialist," it would be quite easy to show that State Socialism has lost ground and Guild Socialism has never gained any. Capitalism as a practical system is in a state of flux: Socialism as a practical system does not exist, and as a doctrinal system it is in a state of collapse. There is no sign of Socialism coming to put a term to our social struggles. The world must look elsewhere for the things that are to its peace.

H. Somerville.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

III

TO NEACHTAIN Ó DOMHNAILL.

In 1608 the three sons of Conn mac Calbhaigh Ó Domhnaill, namely Aodh Buidhe, Domhnall and the famous Niall Garbh, with the latter's son Neachtain, were captured about St. John's Day and sent prisoners to Dublin, whence the two latter were sent on to London Tower. Aodh and Domhnall were released in the following year, but Niall and his son were kept in the Tower till they died, both of them in the same year, 1626. (*F. Mast.* 1608). The words of v. 23, seeming to imply that Aodh *i.e.* Neachtain's uncle, was in prison when the poem was written, would indicate 1609 as its date; they may, however, refer to Aodh Ruadh. For the author, Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, see *Studies*, 1919, June and September.

eoȝan ruaḋ mac an ḃaiṙḋ cct.

1. Maiṙȝ aṙ ḃṙaiȝe aṙ mhacṙaiḋ Muṙḃaiȝ
maiṙȝ macaoṁ ṗé n-a mó ṙúil
ṗa ṙíoṙ ní ḟoileam 'na ainḃḟeaṙ
ḟoiṙeann ḋo ṙíoṙ ṫaiḃȝeaṙ tnúiḋ.

2. Maiṙȝ aṙ túṙ 'na ḋtuiȝṫeaṙ éiṙeaċt
ḋ'aicme Conaill ḋaṙ ċóiṙ cíoṙ
ȝiḋ bé ḋon tṙlóȝ ṗaḋ 'na ḟoȝain
lóṙ ḋá ċaṙ aṙ ḟoḋain ṙíoṙ.

3. Aicme Conaill na ȝcoiȝ ḃṙaoḃṙaċ
ḟuiȝeall tnúiḋ ó ḋṙeim ȝo ḋṙeim
cṙéaḋ aċt a ȝcailȝ céim aṙ aȝaiḋ
maiṙȝ ḋon ḟéin ḋá nȝaḃaiṙ ȝneim.

4. Maṙ aṙ ḟoilluṙ ḋá ȝaċ aoin-neaċ
aṙ Aoḋ Ruaḋ ḋo ṙuȝṫa i nȝlaṙ
i mḃéal a ṫaṙḃa ḋo ṫoiȝeaċt
ṫaṙla léan ḋaṙ n-oiṙeaċt aṙ.

5. Gan gladach airm gan aoir gcogaid
do cosnadh a car i láim
gan cúir oile act feidhg formuid
feidil Moige fonn-buig Fáil.

6. Neactain Ó Domhnaill fa deisead
ar ndódar lán ar laog búid
i n-aoir leinb 'n-a dámha duine
tapla i gceilg na tuile thúid.

7. Ar mbeit i fúilib fluaig Bearnair
a beit bóf 'n-a bragaid gill
'n-a leanadh i n-am a éirge
do geabadh barr Éirne inn.

8. Meirde an uilacht fuair 'n-a macaom
meirde fór a bfuair do tail
fuil do cuaid fan oigfeacht n-aidhg
fuair a oirbeart d'aidbir air.

9. Ro-meirde an mear meirde an onóir
nó an t-ainm ar dtús tárnur lair
nó an muirn fuair Neactain 'n-a naoidin
uainn tar fleactaib Gaoidil Glair

10. Cúir eile dá beit i mbríorún
act a-máin ar labrad leinn
ní clor fé beo d'foda idir
ar eo frota Sligid reing.

11. Act gid trom ar cinidh gConuill
mo cean buille do bean fuinn
dar cuiread ar coimédh uainne
foi-géag d'fuigeall cuaine Cuinn

12. Mo cean don éireact do haitneadh
don oirbeart fa deara dó
gan beit fonna faor ó geimlib
do laog Droma beinn-gil Bó.

13. Le hantoil na haoire óige
le huabar gá arlaċ rúd
naċ feiċeaḋ do féil a ṁeanma
d'feiteaṁ don féinn Eamna úd.

14. Ir naċ faċaḋ i finn treara
'r naċ tiocfaḋ d'aṁairc gleo ngarḃ
naċ lingeaḋ i mbearna mbaoġlaiġ
le meanma eidir faoḃraiḃ arm.

15. Créad aċt coiméad do ċat Bearnair
a beiṫ treiṁre mar tá ré
ar daingean mar ġiall i ngéiḃionn
naċ caillead fiaḋ Éirionn é.

16. Bíoḋ naċ mait le macraiḋ Murḃaiġ
ir mait ḋóiḃ-rein go dtí an trát
an traon-flat duḋ déin ar daingean
aon-mac Néill naċ caillead cáċ.

17. Aċt go dtairbeana eaċt oile
a uairle a oirḃeart ré n-éag
ag dion clú coróna Sagran
'r onóra crú garraḋ ngréag

18. Cormail go bruiġid a n-itċe
aicme Conaill ir clann Néill
ġuideaṙ le fiaḋ flaite Boirċe
i n-aice a ġniom̃ broirre féin.

19. Cormail dá bréaċaḋ fir Sagran
a fuḃailce a ċeannra a ċoir
naċ éidir a ṁear naċ maoṫraḋ
bear éigin naċ raorraḋ roin.

20. Foiġide maorḋaċt méin tromḋa
a-táid leir gá haiġne ar fearr
gá caoṁna re huċt gaċ forṁaid
ná luċt coṁraiġ tar a ċeann.

21. Ór í ar aighne an uile ghéimhligh
Ghuidheadh Muirne máthair Dé
as fo fhoghain fhaon gach fhlighead
cobhair dá thaobh fireadh fé.

22. Lór do fhobadh do fhréimh Dálaigh
díobh 'n-a bhfaghaidh gid bé fhaibh
gan choir nghníomh gan damhna ndíomhdadh
mar tharla a dhíol d'ionnsaighidh air. Mairg.

23. Ar n-aon-bhraighe Aodh Ó Domhnaill
dóchar bhanbha ó airdh go hairdh
a bhruair do thoil fhobh thuar fhátha
ná foidh do fhluagh Mhátha a mhairg.

Mairg.

Translation

1. Alas for the hostage of Murbhach's host, the youth on whom highest hope was set; we, the race ever exciting envy, know this well.

2. Alas for the man in whom Conall's cess-worthy race sees efficiency; that a man be chosen by them, suffices to ruin him thereafter.

3. For Conall's sharp-bladed race, ever wasted through envy, progress means only ruin; woe to the race on whom a hold is kept.

4. As all know, Aodh Ruad was captured before his benefits could be realised; ruin therefore came on our rulers.

5. 'Ere he took arms or came of war-age, a plot was made to seize the guardian of Fal's soft-grassed Plain, for no other cause but sting (?) of envy.

6. And now Neachtain O Domhnaill, our great hope, our darling, an ungrown child, has been caught in the flood of envy.

7. After being the hope of Bearnas' host, to be a hostage while yet a growing boy—the prince of the Eirne met this fate.

8. The worse for him were the homage and love he got as a youth; 'ere coming to his sires' inheritance, his prowess caused complaints about him.

9. The worse for him were the respect and honour and glory won by him, and the love which we gave him as a child beyond all the races of Gaoidheal Glas.

10. Except what I have said, no other cause for his imprisonment has been ever alleged against the graceful salmon of Sligeach.

11. Yet, though 'twas sore for Conall's folk, I welcome the blow which has struck us, putting in safety away from us this branch of the remnants of Conn's race.

12. I am glad of the power seen in him, and the prowess the result of which is that the hero of white-peaked Druim Bo is not here unshackled;

13. And that, urged on by youthful passion and pride, the guardian of Eamhain's race might not have the career dear to his spirit;

14. And that he might not be in battle-van, or rush to rough combat, or valorously leap among sword-blades into the gap of danger.

15. Is it not safety for Bearnas' host that for a space he be, as he is, a hostage held in a fort, so that Eire might not lose him?

16. Though Murbhach's heroes like it not, 'tis for their good that—till the good time comes—the prince be in prison, so that the world lose not Niall's first-born;

17. And that some day ere he dies he show his nobility and prowess, defending the glory of the Saxons' crown and the honour of the Greeks.

18. It is likely that the races of Conall and Niall praying for the pardon of Boirche's prince will get their request, helped by his perfect conduct.

19. It is unlikely that, if the Saxons examine his virtue and gentleness and his pledges, this will not soften his doom, and mayhap acquit him.

20. Patience, nobility, seriousness—what better pleaders?—are on his side; what stronger guard against envy than his foes pleading for him?

21. Let him pray Mary, God's mother, for she is pleader for all captives; let him ask help of her,—that is the best of all courses.

22. 'Tis warning enough for Dálach's race when on one of them—a prisoner though innocent and undeserving of wrath—the treatment due to them falls.

23. May the love given our great hostage, Aodh O Domhnaill, hope of all Banbha, bring him good fortune; may his misfortune not fall on Macha's race!

Notes

MSS.: R. I. A. 23 C 33, p. 259 (C); 23 N 26, p. 55 (N); 24 P 27, p. 78 (P); 3 C 12, p. 296 (X).

1*a* Murragh, Co. Don. 2*b* ȝar ċ. PX. 3*c* ċaiȝ X. *d* ṗréim X. 4*b* p. a ȝl. X, p. nȝl. PNC. 5*c* ṗeiċeaḋ X, ṗeiċiḋ PNC. Meaning uncertain; ṗeiṫiom X, ṗeiṫiḋ PNC. 6*b* nóóṫċar XP. 7*a* a ḃeiṫ X; ṗúiliḋ C. Barnesmore Co. Don. *b* a om. X. *c* ina eiṗȝe N. *d* Lit. "He was seized in that (fate)." 9*a* a ṁear X. *c* nó om PCN. *d* ṗleaċṫuil X; nȝl. X. 10*a* oile PXN; bṗíor. PX. 12*c* ṗona C. *d* binnȝil CNP. 13*a* hannṫoil X. *b* ȝá om N. *c* ṗeiṫeaḋ XPCN. 14*a* ṗaċa X. *b* nȝleoḋ X. 17*a* ṫaiṗbeanaḋ C. *d* ȝarṁaiḋ XP. 18*a* ḃṗuiȝeaḋ X. *d* ṗ. ṗ. XPNC. 19*a* ḃṗeaċaiḋ XPN. *d* éiȝin ḃeaṗ ȝo ṗ. X. 20*a* ṫṁoua X. 21*a* aṗ om X. *d* oo ċ. X. 22*c* ċúiṗ nȝn. X; nóiomṫúiḋ X, nóiomṫa C. *d* ṫíol XNPC; "his sufficiency" might stand, though ṫíol (a referring to ṗréim) or nóíol would give better point. 23*d* maċa m. X.

DIABOLISM[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IT has been said that the devil's greatest achievement in modern times has been to persuade mankind to disbelieve in his own existence. Strangely enough, there seems of late to have been a perceptible swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction. Diabolical possession, which was scouted by the scientists of the Huxley period, is now openly spoken of once more. Quite recently I was present at a meeting of the Society for Psychical Research when the President, Dr. Hans Driesch, the well-known biologist and psychologist, who is also a professor in the University of Leipzig, gave an informal account of a visit he had just paid to the United States. Amongst other matters referred to was the question of diabolical possession, which he had heard keenly discussed there, and Dr. Driesch conveyed the impression that in his judgment the possibility of invasion by an evil spirit was not to be peremptorily rejected as absurd. This may seem little enough, but it distinctly marks a change of feeling.

Upon the causes of this change I do not propose to offer any comment. Perhaps the effects produced by the spread of Spiritualism and the more careful study of psychic phenomena may not have been without a certain influence. Supposing, however, the facts to be as stated, it is easy to believe that the powers of evil are not too anxious that their activities should be recognised. If

[1] *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology.* By Montague Summers. (Kegan Paul. 1926. 12s. 6d. net.).

The Geography of Witchcraft. By Montague Summers. (Kegan Paul. 1927. 21s. net.).

Demoniality. By Ludovico Maria Sinistrari. Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. Montague Summers. (Fortune Press. 1927. 21s. net.).

the theory of diabolical intervention in human affairs could again be made to appear ridiculous, those activities would no doubt be carried on in much greater security. Nothing could serve Satan's purpose better than that the Catholic Church, his most uncompromising opponent, should be identified once more with all the most extravagant beliefs and superstitions of the witch mania. As the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes, for example, effectively proved, travesty is one of the most deadly of weapons. I may, of course, be wrong, and there can be no question that there is room for a different point of view, but I cannot divest my mind of the idea that the exaggerated diabolism conspicuous in the works cited at the head of this article may be by no means unwelcome to the Father of Lies. It really plays into his hands; first, because it makes the Church ridiculous by attributing to her a teaching flagrantly in conflict with sanity and common sense; and, secondly, because it is associated with stories of all sorts of nastiness which feed a prurient curiosity under cloak of supplying scientific information.

Be this, however, as it may, the fact is noteworthy that within the space of two years three considerable volumes have been published by the same author, all dealing with the subject of diabolism, and all adopting a point of view which is hardly to be distinguished from that of the fiercest witch-persecutors of the seventeenth century. The two first, surprising to say, appear in an important series of monographs issued under the general title of "The History of Civilisation." For this series the publishers make a special claim to up-to-dateness, describing it as "one of the most ambitious adventures in the annals of book-publishing," and as presenting "in accessible form the results of modern research and modern scholarship throughout the whole range of the social sciences." Reviews of high standing have spoken appreciatively of several of the earlier volumes, and by connexion with the same series the two contributions of

Mr. Montague Summers acquire a certain title to consideration which upon their merits they might otherwise lack. *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* is a general sketch in which a summary account is given of Manichaeism and its Albigensian derivatives, of devil-worship, of the orgies of the witches' sabbat, of diabolical possession, and also of modern Spiritualism. *The Geography of Witchcraft* is a rather bigger book, and this, while repeating a good deal that occurs in the *History*, divides the matter according to countries, entering into fuller detail about famous trials such as that of Dame Alice Kyteler in Ireland, the Lancashire witches in England, the Dr. Fian case in Scotland, the exploits of the two Mathers, the witch-hunters, in America, the maniacal outrages of Gilles de Rais in France, etc., with, of course, a long account of the black masses of the Abbé Guibourg and other Satanistic horrors.

All this ground is familiar to readers who have made acquaintance with Miss Murray's *Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, and those who remember that lady's extremely frank presentment of the witches' depositions will be grieved to learn that Mr. Summers' pages are hardly any cleaner than those of his predecessor. It surely ought to be possible to indicate sufficiently the filthy character of much that was said or done without quoting obscene details in the vernacular. From the point of view of indecency, the third work mentioned, a translation of Sinistrari's *De Daemonialitate et de Incubis et Succubis*, is perhaps the most objectionable of all. No doubt its high price—twenty-one shillings for less than 200 pages—will prevent its finding its way into the hands of the public at large, but the realistic discussion of such a subject, which to the moral theologian and the canonist, writing in Latin, may be pardoned under the plea of necessity, is in an English version unpleasantly reminiscent of the pornography rampant in the publications of Leo Taxil's *Librairie Anti-Cléricale*. Some of these last consist

of nothing more than the rendering into French of certain selected chapters dealing with sexual matters in treatises of moral theology.

It is, of course, useless to protest against the publication of literature of this class. The demand exists, and it will be supplied. The secondhand booksellers, under such headings as "Curious," and other similar euphemisms, deliberately exploit and often exaggerate the salacious contents of the works which they are anxious to sell. It would have been sufficient, then, to say that Mr. Summers is as unreserved as Miss Murray in his treatment of the unclean element in demonology, were it not for the fact that the reader would almost inevitably infer from the tone of the later writer that he is an exceptionally devout Catholic and presumably a priest. More than one of his reviewers has taken this for granted, and has seized the occasion to declaim against the ignorance, credulity and intolerance of Catholic theologians, or even to rail against the obscurantism of the Roman Church in our own day. It must be confessed that the books afford much excuse for the assumption these writers make and for the tone they adopt. The first passage which the eye lights upon in the *History* is a dedication beginning: "To Patrick, in memory of Loreto and Our Lady's Holy House, as also of Our Lady's miraculous Picture at Campocavallo, Our Lady of Pompeii," etc.—nearly a dozen are named in all—and the list ends with a reference to "all the Italian and French Madonnas at whose shrines we have worshipped." The Introduction is dated "in Festo S. Teresiae, V. 1925." Further, the Introduction to *Demoniality* is similarly dated "in Festo VII Dolorum B. M. V. in Quadragesima, 1927," and that of the *Geography* ends with the words "in Festo S. Patris n. Joannis a Cruce, Conf. et Eccl. Doctoris, 1926," from which last reference to "*Our* Holy Father, St. John of the Cross," we should be led to infer that the writer professed allegiance to the Carmelite Order. There is, however, no trace of an episcopal imprimatur.

Seeing that the author everywhere insists on the reality of devil-worship and in large measure justifies the witch-hunts of past centuries, he can hardly be surprised if an attitude so opposed to contemporary feeling be regarded as a challenge, and if critics become curious regarding his personal history. On the title-page of *Demoniality* (1927) the book is said to be translated and annotated by "The Rev. Montague Summers." I do not wish to dispute the writer's claim to such a designation, but one is entitled to ask—"Reverend in what Church?" The name of Mr. Montague Summers is not to be found in any Catholic Directory, and it is equally absent from the current "Crockford" (a register of the duly recognised clergy of the Church of England). On the other hand, the older issues of Crockford did contain the name of Augustus Montague Summers, who, as we there learn, after a course at the Lichfield Theological College, took his B.A. degree at Oxford in 1905, was ordained deacon in 1908, and then for one year acted as curate at Bitton. Still, though his name continued to appear in Crockford for a dozen years or more (down to 1925), there is nowhere any mention of his ordination to the Anglican priesthood, nor of any other ecclesiastical employment except the one year's curacy at Bitton. In the 1927 *Who's Who* Mr. Summers' name is included, seemingly for the first time, and we find a notice the materials for which can hardly have been supplied by anyone but the subject himself.[1] In this it is stated that "The Rev. Alphonsus Joseph-Mary[2] Augustus Montague Summers, M.A.,

[1] Under the heading "Recreations" in the same notice we read—"Travel; staying in unknown monasteries and villages in Italy; pilgrimages to famous shrines; the investigation of occult phenomena; ghost stories; talking to intelligent dogs, that is, all dogs; research in hagiology, liturgies, mysticism, the older English drama, late Latin literature." Mr. Summers seems to have been inspired by the example of the Sitwell family; though one notices that the Sitwell *facetiae* have been regrettably bowdlerized in the 1927 edition.

[2] The christian names "Alphonsus Joseph-Mary" seem to have been recently acquired; there is no trace of them in his earlier publications.

F.R.S.L.," was educated at Clifton College and Trinity College, Oxford, and that he " has lived largely abroad, particularly in Italy." A considerable list of publications is added, which begins with " St. Catherine of Siena, 1903; Lourdes, 1904; Poems, 1907."

Of the two first named I can find no trace, but the third may be seen in the library of the British Museum, and there one may ascertain that its exact title is " Antinous and other Poems." Regarding its character, I will only say that it seems a curious book to come from one whom the Lichfield Theological College claimed as an alumnus in 1904 and who was to be ordained a deacon of the Church of England in 1908. Still more strangely out of harmony with one's normal conception of the clerical profession is the nature of the publications which followed. In 1915 Mr. Summers edited the Works of Aphra Behn in six volumes, which he followed up later by similar editions of Congreve and Wycherley. It may suffice in this connexion to quote the remark of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol. viii., p. 142), that not only did the Restoration drama " cater habitually for the lowest and most debased of human inclinations," but that " on the score of morality Mrs. Aphra Behn is again and again more daring and *risquée* than any of her male competitors, and she is as frivolous and abandoned in speech as the worst of them all." None the less, it is of her contemporary, Wycherley, that Macaulay wrote: " In truth his indecency is protected against the critics, as the skunk is protected against the hunters. It is safe because it is too filthy to handle and too noisome even to approach." No doubt such ideas will seem very early-Victorian to the generation which reads James Joyce, but there are still a number of old-fashioned people who will not think more favourably of the Rev. Alphonsus Joseph-Mary Summers' soundness of judgment because he proclaims himself on the title-page of his witchcraft books to be the editor of Wycherley and Congreve.

Moreover, from the British Museum catalogue we may learn, what is not mentioned in *Who's Who*, that he is also an active member of "the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology." For this organization he has printed an essay entitled "The Marquis de Sade, a Study of Algolagnia." I have not thought it worth while to make acquaintance with this lucubration. I am satisfied to learn from the pages of Mr. Summers' own *Geography* :—

> As might be expected, there are revolting pictures of the black mass in the lewd pages of de Sade. In *Justine* such a mass celebrated in a cloister is described in filthy detail. When Juliette is initiated into the "Society of the Friends of Crime," the Host and Crucifix are desecrated. Again, a little later, two Satanic orgies are exhibited, when the High Altar is the scene of every defilement. By a stroke of unparalleled impudence and malice the very quintessence of blasphemy is attained when the holy and suffering Pius VI. is made to take part in these abominations.

These are the main facts which an inquirer can gather regarding the career of the Rev. Montague Summers, whom the average reader, as stated above, will inevitably assume to be a Catholic convert anxious to defend at all costs the far-seeing wisdom of the Church in the matter of the extermination of witches. Nothing could be more reverential than the tone of the books before us in referring to all ecclesiastical decrees, pious legends or practices of devotion. Hardly ever does our author allude to the sacrifice of the altar without describing it as "Holy Mass." The Vulgate and the Douai version are consistently used in quotations from Holy Scripture. All the priests mentioned, except the monsters who practised magical rites, are presented as models of sanctity and learning. Encomiums are lavished upon the occupants of the papal see, practically without exception. Innocent VIII., for example, who promulgated the great witch bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, is described as "this noble and admirable pope." What is more, Mr. Summers, whether designedly or not, uses

language which would give the impression that he is not only a Catholic, but a priest who celebrates Mass and hears confessions. For example, he tells us in reference to the superstitions current at the present day :—

> Spells and charms are sought for with a perseverance and energy worthy of a better quest. It was not many months since that a lady of wealth and education, a non-Catholic, who unhappily loves one who cannot reciprocate her feelings, earnestly begged me to place a sealed and folded paper, wherein she had written the name of the man whose affection she seeks, upon the corporal under the Chalice at Holy Mass, so that God's Blood might be poured forth, as it were, over her billet, and this she felt would infallibly mean the attainment of her wish. She was amazed when I pointed out the profanity and horrid sacrilege of such a superstition, and rejoined with the hardly veiled offer of a bribe.[1]

Surely if this means anything it means that Mr. Summers says Mass, or at least allows it to be understood that he says it. That such a proposal should be made to the author of *Antinous* and the editor of Aphra Behn is not so very surprising. It would be much more remarkable if "a lady of wealth and education" came to an accredited parish priest with any similar request. But our historian of witchcraft is not only familiar with the ritual of the Mass; it would seem that he also hears confessions, at any rate he knows exactly what a confessor feels.

> Throughout the whole history of Witchcraft [he writes] there is no story so infamous as that of Madeleine Bavent, Mathurin Picard and Thomas Boullé. Nowhere have I read so hideous a confession. The details are so utterly abominable that even the soul of a priest, steeped in the fires of the confessional, whom no human aberration can shock or surprise, shudders and sickens at the dark mass of turpitudes which are as the stench and vomit of the pit of hell.[2]

Frankly, it is difficult to resist the conviction that in so persistent a student of sexual and diabolic abnormalities these expressions of supreme horror are merely a literary

[1] *The Geography of Witchcraft*, p. 180. [2] *The Geography of Witchcraft*, p. 417.

affectation. The confession of Madeleine Bavent is a piece of undiluted hysteria, as the least experienced must recognise at a glance. If Mr. Summers can swallow this —and seemingly a hundred other similar narratives—as the veracious record of things that actually happened, his judgment concerning any matter which depends on evidence is as unsound as his claim to offer Mass or to forgive sins. He is evidently a man who is incapable of taking a common-sense view of the facts of life. It is strange enough that he apparently sees no inconsistency himself between his peculiar literary interests and the pious frillings with which he decks his assumed sacerdotal character, but it is still stranger that he does not realise that other people will by no means regard the matter as he does, and that they will inevitably conclude that his whole attitude is a masquerade. Even a sound and generally accepted theory would gain nothing by the adherence of so abnormal an advocate; and the view which Mr. Summers presses upon his readers is one which has steadily fallen into disfavour even in the most orthodox Catholic circles, at any rate since the appearance of Father Friedrich Spe's *Cautio Criminalis* in the middle of the seventeenth century. A passage in the Introduction to the *History of Witchcraft and Demonology* has been used by the publishers to advertise the work, and may serve to give an idea of the general spirit :—

> Under the heading of Witchcraft, the author includes Sorcery, Black Magic, Necromancy, Occult Divination, Satanism and every kind of malign occult art. The dark reality and terrible aspects of the subject and the immodesty of the witch-cult are neither shunned nor extenuated. Those writers who have treated the witch as a kindly old woman, shrewd, and with a knowledge of healing herbs are refuted. The witch is revealed in her true colours—an evil liver, a social pest and a parasite; the devotee of a loathly and obscene creed, an adept at poisoning, blackmail and other creeping crimes; a bawd; an abortionist; a minister of vice and corruption, battening upon the foulest passions of the age.

One may readily admit that those who were put to death as witches were not as a rule kindly old women with a knowledge of healing herbs. It was the malevolent harridan or crone, of more or less deservedly evil reputation, who was most likely to be denounced for sorcery. But it does not follow because she was an outcast, sometimes half-crazy, sometimes cunning enough to earn a wretched livelihood by trading on the superstition and malice of her neighbours, that she had therefore personal intercourse with the demons, had signed a compact with Satan in her blood, and took part in the orgies of the Sabbat at which the devil was formally worshipped with indescribable indecencies. But this is what Mr. Summers wishes his readers to believe, as, for example, when he writes :—

> In many instances it is certain—and orthodoxy forbids us to doubt the possibility—that the Principle of Evil, incarnate, was present for the hideous adoration of his besotted worshippers. Such is the sense of the Fathers, such is the conclusion of theologians who have dealt with these dark abominations. Metaphysically it is possible ; historically it is indisputable.

Or again :—

> The conclusion then [he has been quoting from the treatises of early theologians] is plain and proven. The witches do actually and individually attend the Sabbat, an orgy of blasphemy and obscenity. Whether they go thither on foot, on horseback, or by some other means is a detail, which in point of fact differs according to the several and infinitely varied circumstances. . . .
>
> A candid consideration will show that for every detail of the Sabbat, however fantastically presented and exaggerated in the witch-trials of so many centuries, there is ample warrant and unimpeachable evidence. There is some hallucination, no doubt ; there is lurid imagination and vanity which paints the colours thick ; but there is a solid stratum of fact, and very terrible fact, throughout.[3]

I have already indicated certain reasons which, even if we lay aside all misgivings as to Mr. Summers' sincerity,[3]

[1] *The History of Witchcraft*, p. 133. [2] *History of Witchcraft*, pp. 129 and 163.
[3] He has recently protested in a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* that these books represent his deepest convictions on the subject of Witchcraft and Diabolism.

may certainly warrant us in doubting the soundness of his judgment. The reader who scrutinizes his pages at all narrowly will find plenty of utterances which can only deepen this distrust. One of the principal authorities to whom appeal is made for the foul details of the Sabbat ritual is the famous Jean Bodin, a jurist who lived in intimate contact with the French witch prosecutions of the sixteenth century. In the very first sentence of his *History* Mr. Summers quotes the Frenchman's definition of his subject matter in the following form :—

> " A sorcerer is one who by commerce with the Devil has a full intention of attaining his own ends." With these words the profoundly erudite jurisconsult, Jean Bodin, one of the acutest and most strictly impartial minds of his age, opens his famous *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, and it would be, I imagine, hardly possible to discover a more concise, exact, comprehensive and intelligent definition of a Witch.

Even were the wisdom of Bodin as uncontroverted as that of Socrates, superlatives of this sort would at once suggest that we have to do with an author who weighs neither his facts nor his phrases. And, sure enough, when we get near the close of the *Geography of Witchcraft* we find that Mr. Summers has apparently forgotten all that he said about this personage at the beginning of the *History*, for we are told that in Paris Bodin " soon attracted attention by his legal writings, many of which, however, are very unsound in principle and dangerous." Further, though he became in 1590 Attorney-General at Laon, " he was a man of shifty and ever-shifting ideas, and his political writings betray an anti-Catholic temper, though he ever clung to the Catholic religion."[1] How is the same man both " strictly impartial " and yet shifty, unsound and tainted with anti-Catholic bias ? Is it not just possible that there may also have been some anti-sorcery bias not only in Bodin, but also in Boguet, Remy, Pierre de Lancre and the other witch-hunters upon

[1] *Geography of Witchcraft*, p. 401.

whom Miss Murray and Mr. Summers so largely depend for their facts ?

I must confess that so far from breaking down any reluctance I may feel to believe in pacts with the demon and in the horrors of the witches' Sabbat, a rather careful perusal of Mr. Summers' volumes has produced an exactly opposite effect. The credulity of the age when all these devil stories were in the air, and when in certain localities the fear of witchcraft filled all men's minds, was something which passes conception, especially the conception of our own contemporaries. Even Mr. Summers seems to entertain certain reserves as to fact of witches riding to the Sabbat on broomsticks and as to the efficacy of the witches' ointment in facilitating this process of levitation. None the less, it is incontestable that this was a fixed conviction in the minds of Bodin, Boguet, Delrio, Guazzo, and all the other ancient authorities to whom he appeals. Even Father Spee, the Jesuit whose temperate remonstrances, prompted by his personal experience in assisting the victims of the witch trials, had so great an influence in bringing the prosecutions to an end, dared not run openly counter to the theological convictions of his time. Many of his religious brethren who lived in their cells and wrote purely from book knowledge, carried their credulity to the most outrageous lengths. For example, the learned Father Stengelius, to prove the extraordinary efficacy of the witch ointment, tells the story of a studious young man who, having at short notice to take a journey on horseback, hunted out his neglected riding boots and found them so stiff and creased that they were quite unusable. Accordingly he looked about for some grease to lubricate them with, and finding a pot in an out-of-the-way corner, he smeared one of his boots with the contents and set it beside the kitchen fire. Having then begun to busy himself in the same way with its fellow, he noticed that the first boot standing on the hearth seemed to straighten

itself, to expand and to come to life, until finally it flew right up the chimney, from which no protests or outcry on his part could recover it.[1] On inquiry he discovered that the pot he had used contained an ointment prepared by a witch for greasing the broomstick upon which she rode to the Sabbat.[2] All this is gravely recorded by this learned professor and most voluminous writer, in a folio which abounds in narratives that are hardly more critical. The treatise of Father Sinistrari, *De incubis et succubis*, which Mr. Summers has translated reflects a precisely similar mentality. The author was consulted in the case of a certain monk, who declared that he was continually tormented by a demon who "appeared to him, by day and by night, under various shapes, as a skeleton, a pig, an ass, an angel, a bird," and once even "under that of his own Superior, the Prior." From details supplied by the sufferer, Sinistrari concluded that "this demon was igneous or at the very least aerial," and advised accordingly that the monk should make a posy of herbs "that are cold by nature," such as water-lily, henbane, etc., should hang up one bundle at the door of his cell and another at the window, sprinkling others also over the bed and floor.

> Marvellous to say [Sinistrari goes on], the Demon appeared again, but remained outside the room, which he would not enter; but on the monk inquiring of him his motives for such unwonted reserve, he burst out into invectives against me for giving such advice, disappeared, and never returned thither again.

From which "personal experience,"—it is so the good Father describes it—and from a story heard at secondhand, he concludes unhesitatingly that, "by their native virtue

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[1] "Interim dum ocrearum alteram arripit itidem omento imbuendam, prior illa quasi calorem sentiens et ab igne animata, coepit a se moveri, erigere cervicem, et repente de foco per caminum evolare; quam nulla vociferatione juvenis potuit retinere aut ad se revocare." The credulity of Father Stengelius is only equalled by the excellence of his Latin diction.

[2] G. Stengelius, S.J.: *Mundus Theoreticus Divinorum Judiciorum*, Cologne, 1682, Pars III., cap. 64, n. 2, p. 250.

alone, perfumes and herbs drive away Demons without the intervention of any supernatural force." And this is the style of argumentation which, percolating through successive generations of "experts" in demoniacal phenomena, had for its practical outcome the sacrifice of thousands and thousands of lives, including a considerable proportion of children under fourteen, not to speak of the tortures inflicted in numberless cases before sentence was pronounced. In a list, reproduced in the *Geography* (p. 489), of 156 witches whose bodies after execution were burned at Würzburg between 1627 and 1631, we find mention of some 20 children, amongst the rest "a little girl of nine or ten years old and her younger sister," as well as eight others who were not more than twelve. Mr. Summers comments: "it is sad, indeed, to read of children who were thus early tainted by evil, yet such cases persist throughout the ages." Of the fact that they were rightly put to death he seems to entertain no doubt.

Of the curious problems presented by demoniacal possession, of the "Grappin" phenomena which beset such saints as the holy Curé d'Ars, and of the alleged black magic and Satanism said to be rife at the present day, it has been impossible to speak here. Beyond question the devil is real enough and unwearied in his efforts to compass man's destruction. The whole problem turns upon the range of the powers which God suffers him to exercise in the present dispensation and which certainly are not unlimited. Perhaps an opportunity will occur of returning to the subject; but in the meantime it has seemed worth while to utter a word of caution regarding the three extraordinary volumes which both in origin and content seem to me so little qualified to furnish the guidance which a Catholic reader desires in this matter of great perplexity.

HERBERT THURSTON.

A THEORY OF POETRY

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J., M.A.

STRANGELY enough, hardly any great critic has up till now constructed a complete theory of poetry. If we think a moment we notice that nearly all important general criticism is confined to the *obiter dicta* of great men. One thinks at once of Wordsworth's "emotion recollected in tranquillity," Shelley's "expression of the imagination," Horace's *ut pictura poesis*, Aristotle's μίμησις, Arnold's "criticism of life," Lessing's "illusion" (*Täuschung*), the ἐγρηγορότων ἐνύπνια of Longinus (whom Lessing quotes), Bacon's "shows of things submitted to the desire of the mind." All these definitions are very unlike. I might even say that they tend to fall into two contrary camps; the writers who are primarily readers and critics seem to discern something universal and an objective value in poetry, while those who are specifically poets discern a particular element and a personal value. Nevertheless there is some truth in them all, and the general belief that they have all won from readers of poetry only proves that most men recognise *both* universal and personal elements in poetry. But what *work* have we whose principles have won general acceptance, or that has even *stated* the fundamental problems of criticism? No great name occurs, and the defect is grave.

Professor Abercrombie in one of his books[1] makes a similar observation. He suggests by implication, but very modestly, that he is the first to set forth a comprehensive theory. He is at least the only noted critic besides Coleridge who has tried to reconcile the general and individual elements in poetry. And Coleridge

[1] Lascelles Abercrombie: *Towards a Theory of Art* (1922); *The Theory of Poetry* (1924); *The Idea of Great Poetry* (1925); *Romanticism* (1926). London: Martin Secker. 6s. net each.

was certainly not fit for the task when he undertook the *Biographia*. Every lover of poetry should read these books, especially *The Idea of Great Poetry*. They are distinguished by the hallmark of great criticism—independence of view joined to a sane adherence to tradition (as, for example, where the writer develops through a whole volume a theory of romanticism very like that of William Michael Rossetti's definition: "the expression of distance"). They are distinguished by a certain fascinating sweep of thought, by incredibly wide reading, by judgments on individual poets that are always keen and often final, all set forth in an eager, athletic prose. But we should beware of accepting his doctrine purely because of his splendid style. And so we will now scrutinize it.

THE THEORY DISCUSSED.

The philosophy of poetry must always depend on the answers to three questions:—Why does the poet write? What is the poetry that he writes? Why do people read what he writes? In other words, what are the inspiration, the nature, and the function of poetry?

Professor Abercrombie bases his system on what may be called the theory of the two worlds. Man's deepest and strongest desire, he says, is to be a conscious part of a significant world. Such a world is one in which order is universal and nothing, not even evil, fails to contribute to the function of the whole. There nothing is unreasonable or unaccountable, and there, in consequence, we accept everything as somehow right and inevitable. Man, therefore, lives in a dual world, the real world and the unattainable ideal. This latter is, however, not a wholly new creation, but is rather the vision in the mind of the real world made perfect. Hence, since the perfection of the ideal world consists in the logical coherence of all its parts, it follows that any one part of such a world will suggest other parts and, if deeply pondered, the whole of it.

Now art, and particularly poetry, is defined in its substance simply as imaginative experience. The substance of poetry is real experience, but so transformed that it is now presented as if it were now occurring in the ideal world. Hence it gains significance, meaning; it is not the perverse, purposeless annoyance that real experience often seems, the reaction to the apparently capricious operation of "a divinity that shapes our ends." In short, real experience has become imaginative experience. The inspiration then that urges composition is simply the vividness and intensity of the experience. It is so important for the poet that it demands to be communicated—"a poet's motive will always be the immediate delight of experience."

Hence the function of poetry is nothing more than the distribution of experience. Its purpose is to infuse the poet's experience into the reader's mind so as to cause him to participate in it imaginatively. Its value is "the value of experience as such, the value that living spirit must feel in every vivid motion of its life." But furthermore, this participated experience is for the reader the gate of the ideal world, to conjure which his own fancy is by itself too weak. Hence by poetry he enjoys the dearest desire of his heart, not really, for it is unattainable, but imaginatively.

Such is the theory, and it seems a pity to assail such a charming Platonic fantasy, though Plato too has stood the racket of criticism. But beforehand we must acknowledge that the theory is largely *true*. It recognises quite clearly that art is essentially communication. It recognises that it is the communication of experience as such, understanding by experience the adventure that any conscious perception implies. Hence it recognises that it is not, directly at least, the communication of ideas. Moreover, art is not a description of experience, but a transference into the consciousness of the reader. I mean by this that the reader is made to feel what the

poet feels. Thus when we read poetry as apart from prose, we do not expect to be *informed* of something, but to be excited into a state of soul. We do not expect to be *told* that a thing is beautiful, but to be subjected to the influence of its beauty. When we read the *Vita Nuova* we do not merely learn that Dante is in love, but we experience his love and its peculiar shade of feeling. This, the cardinal constituent of poetry—experience as such—is well insisted on by Professor Abercrombie. Again his theory recognises that the experience communicated must have a certain face value as the personal experience of an individual. But it goes beyond this, and discerns in poetry the element that for the wise critic is the specific note, the touchstone, of poetry—its *suggestiveness*. It discerns that the lapse of poetry into the silent mind stirs up associations of ideas which, advancing in ever-widening circles, trouble at last the utmost verges of our consciousness.

I am wholly in agreement with Professor Abercrombie, therefore, when he asserts that poetry is the communication of personal experience as such, with *some kind* of a universal bearing outside of its individual significance. But I find it difficult to agree with his view of the nature of this universality, or to explain by means of it all the phenomena of artistic communication. And so to the *crisis* of his argument.

First of all, the ethical basis of his theory is hard to accept. The ideal world is admittedly a chimaera. But men will only place their dearest desires in a chimaera when they are convinced that they are destined to disappointment in reality, that the whole frame of things contains nothing that will satisfy their natural longings. And the mass of men are not thus pessimistic. The very idea of religious faith, held by most men in some form—I wish to avoid the religious issue if possible, but it is not wholly possible—the very idea of faith implies a resolute expectation of the fulfilment of desire. I do not think,

therefore, that so long as men can find a worthy destiny for themselves in reality that their aspirations, at least their *dearest* aspirations, will be for an impossible universe, "remoulded nearer to the heart's desire."

It is hard to believe, too, that all poets are essentially in revolt against reality. Is it possible to discern discontent with this world or aspiration to an ideal world in any sense, or indeed anything except a delighted acceptance of the concrete reality, in all or even most of the fragments of Sappho,[1] or in that most lovely poem, the *Mosella* of Ausonius? Lucretius, too, a favourite poet of Professor Abercrombie's, wrote explicitly to *dispel* the ideal world of classical religion, and to direct men's minds to what he took for reality:—

> effringere ut arta
> Naturae primus portarum claustra cupiret;
> Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit et extra
> Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
> Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.

Now, if the foundations are rifted, it is unlikely that the rest of the structure will be sound. First of all, will *any* imaginative experience, so long as it is not merely described objectively but transposed into the consciousness of the reader, be poetry? Will the expression of a purely animal sensation be poetry, for example, the eating (*quâ talis*) of a sausage, the first slight resistance to the teeth, then the soft explosion and the exudation of the juicy core, warm, sharp, and savoury? In the hands of Rabelais or Petronius that might be entertaining, but it will hardly produce in its reader that specific exaltation which is the vestige of poetry in the mind. On the other

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[1] For example, this fairy-like stanza is simply a realistic presentation of a reaction to natural beauty:—

> Ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ καλὰν σελάνναν
> αἶψ' ἀποκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος,
> ὅππατα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη
> ἀργυρία γᾶν.

hand, Falstaff's drinking of old sack and unbuttoning after dinner, and Nestor's exploits with his *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον do* produce it, because they are taken not only on their face value (*qua talia*), but as the symbols of the high joy of wassail. Hence not every experience, but only experience in some degree *spiritual*, can form the substance of poetry. It must touch the spiritual will by comprising an *emotion*. Professor Abercrombie implies in one place, indeed, that emotion is a vital ingredient in every imaginative experience. If then he agrees with me in regarding emotion as a movement of the will actuated by objects presented chiefly by the imagination, he will doubtless accept this restriction of his definition. For us at least this will be the general meaning of emotion.

Anyway he will certainly not admit a further stricture that I will claim against his definition. But, as this is the nucleus of my whole case and depends on points I am about to deal with, I shall here just indicate it. Let us say that poetry is nothing more than the expression of spiritual imaginative experience. Will it not follow that the autobiographical writings of Borrow or Cellini are poetry? Cellini's memoirs are highly emotional, they are imaginative—they are even largely imaginary—and the experience is often not merely described in the concrete, but seems to be imparted to the consciousness of the reader. They are even imaginative in Professor Abercrombie's sense, for they are conceived as taking place in an ideal world all the parts of which converge to one purpose, to wit, the honour and glory of Benvenuto. Beyond doubt, they fulfil many of the requirements of poetry; and yet the whole world, fascinated though it is, refuses to acknowledge them as poetry, even in the sense that it acknowledges the *Urn-Burial* and the *Harzreise* of Heine or the prose of Pierre Loti as poetry. What else does Benvenuto's prose require to be more than fine prose? That question I shall answer eventually.

Again, Professor Abercrombie is obviously right in

assigning the intention of the poet to communication. Undoubtedly the poet wants to establish *sympathy* (not pity, of course, but fellow-feeling or participation of experience) between himself and the reader. But when Professor Abercrombie looks for the motive of this intention, in other words, when he tries to explain what *inspiration* is, it is less easy to agree with him. All possible motives for writing are discernible very clearly in Pindar. He is writing for money, for fame, for the entertainment of others, and frankly says so. But it is none of these things that gives his song its commanding massiveness and divine disdain. Indeed these motives might as well be those of a tailor as of a poet. The poet, therefore, has another motive specific of his art, and this, according to Professor Abercrombie, is the importance of the experience to be communicated. This, apparently, urges the act of communication spontaneously. But does it? Consider, for example, a murderer. He is notoriously drawn in two directions: in one to conceal his crime, in another to confess it. Now it is, if anything, the gravity of his crime, the importance of his experience, that induces him to conceal it; for on this depends his punishment. It is certainly not precisely the gravity of his crime that fundamentally stimulates him to confess it. In fact, in confessing it, he will minimize its gravity. He confesses, of course, to gain sympathy. But what is the basic cause of the need for sympathy in its ultimate analysis? Surely it is the desire for the moral co-operation that others extend by endorsing or defending the legitimacy of our experience, by composing our minds with the assurance that it is no way unworthy of a man. In the case of Pindar, for instance, the effect of the moral co-operation was to confirm his consciousness of natural aristocracy. The mere importance of his experiences was not *of itself* sufficient cause for communication. But again I must postpone what remains to be said of the basis of sympathy and of inspiration.

Finally, there is the question of the function of poetry. Obviously one does not read poetry *merely* to sympathize with the poet. It is not a work of charity. The experience communicated must bring some kind of *personal* satisfaction to the reader. It is just here that the quality of universality or *suggestion* is found in poetry, its peculiar faculty for exciting associations of ideas, stirring the secret depths of memory and imagination. Professor Abercrombie explains the satisfaction we experience as our joy in finding an entrance to the ideal world. The theory is very attractive in the case of what he himself calls "the poetry of refuge," of deliberate escape from the slings and arrows of outrageous reality, such poetry as that of Meleager and the Alexandrians, Rousseau's *Devin du Village*, or the great ballads *Clerk Saunders* or *Erlkönig*, such poetry as is summed up for ever in

Childe Roland to the dark tower came.

We might allow it too of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* or *The Old Wives' Tale*, or the fairy plays of Shakespeare, or any of the masques. A case might be made out even for including the *Iliad*, and a stronger one for the *Odyssey*.

But I find it hard to accept the admission to an ideal world as the function of the greater and graver poetry, "the poetry of interpretation." Take one example, that of the morality *Everyman*. Despite its crudity of language and method I cannot recall at this moment any poem the essence of which bears more unmistakeably the character of greatness. But neither can I recall any poem more deliberately calculated by its author to awaken in its readers a sense of reality to the exclusion of ideal speculations. The same may be said, though less absolutely, of such works as *Johan Johan*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*, Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, *The Jolly Beggars*, and the whole Wordsworth tradition. And I for one believe that Milton was literally sincere when he asserted that *his* object was "to justify the ways of God to man"—that is, to

expound the reality of sin. It is true that Professor Abercrombie claims that such works interpret life by reconciling in a new world all the discordant elements of the old world; they differ thus from works of "refuge" in that they effect their harmony not by winnowing the evil of life from the good, but by reconciling the evil with the good. But surely this is not enough for an *interpretation*—to interpret life is to elucidate what it is, not at least primarily to surmise its possibilities. At any rate I am sure that the intention of the writers of these poems was in every case to increase our insight into reality by directing our attention to life as it is. I am sure, for instance, that *The Jolly Beggars* is meant for a facsimile of a very real pothouse (if not, it fails of its object), that *Othello* is a study of jealousy as it is found really, not ideally, and that *Johan* is a rather wry, but equally realistic, study of its antithesis—guilelessness. I hope presently to set forth a theory of the function of poetry that will cover both these classes equally, and will safeguard the important fact that all poetry essentially clings to reality and heightens our consciousness of it.

But it is worth while to delay longer over this distinction between the styles of refuge and interpretation. It is certain that it has an objective foundation, but not, I think, that assigned to it by Professor Abercrombie. And if this is so, it is another argument against his whole system; for his explanation of these styles is a logical deduction from his premises. (The terminology "refuge and interpretation," however neat, will hence be inappropriate; but it will serve for the present). For if it be true that the poetry of refuge differs from that of interpretation by eliminating or toning down the evil of life, while the latter style admits it as a factor of its harmony, it were consequently contradictory for any poem of refuge to induce its readers to contemplate the reality of evil with fixed attention. Now I have in mind an *aisling* by Egan O'Rahilly. It begins and continues

throughout on the authentic note of the poetry of refuge :—

> Gile na gile do chonnarc ar slighe i n-uaigneas,
> Brightness of brightness I saw in the way all lonely.

This lady of the *sidhe* flees from the poet's sight, and he, eager with love, gives chase. He pursues her to a great mansion where, amid sinister company, she consorts with a brutal vagabond. He is bound by the company, and reproaches her for thus forgetting her lover, who is exiled beyond the deep. At his words her tears start, her heart melts, and she frees him, and he is led without the gate. The mystical exaltation of the poem, its mood of impassioned self-dedication, the mournful incantation of its sound and cadence, the poignant contrast between the elfin grace of the lady and the ghoulish deformity of her captor, convey just that sense of strangeness that distinguishes the poetry of refuge. But this was in no way the poet's object ; for the lady is a symbol of Ireland in the grip of the men of Orange. The poet's express object was to stress and lay bare the misery of the country under alien lords. Hence we have here a representation of real evil as the explicit object of a poem of refuge. The real foundation for this distinction, I believe, is that while both styles aim at the revelation of human nature, one does so by placing that nature in fantastic circumstances, the other by placing it in normal circumstances. Tales of wonder interest us only by the new light they throw on human nature from the reaction of a normal man to an unwonted environment. Put a goblin in place of Peter Schlemihl or the Ancient Mariner and how much the works would lose of poetry ! They would not, indeed, lose everything, for we ourselves in reading would still react remotely to the situations. The difference between the two styles is thus one rather of method of presentation than of substance. But this is more than a digression. It is an anticipation of my whole theory, which I shall discuss in a second article.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

A GREAT IRISH INDUSTRY

Messrs. Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd.

BY ANDREW E. MALONE

III.—The Labour Policy[1]

THAT which distinguished the labour policy of Messrs. Arthur Guinness in the pre-war years from the labour policy of the majority of Irish industrial undertakings was the fact that the workers had both continuity and security of employment. This was a highly distinguishing mark in a city like Dublin where the great bulk of labour was of the unskilled kind, and where most of the unskilled labour was only casually employed. There were, and still are, in Dublin other industrial undertakings and public institutions where there is continuity of employment; but outside the public service there is none where there is both security and continuity. When once a man had secured employment at St. James's Gate Brewery, it was very rarely indeed that he ever had to seek other employment. The usual thing was that he went through his working life in the Brewery service, and when he was considered to be past useful labour, whether through illness or old age, he retired on a pension granted by the firm.

This state of continuity and security brought about an interesting condition of affairs. Not only was there continuity of employment, but there was also a continuity of family connection with the brewery which remained unbroken through several generations of workers. A preferential system by which the sons, and sometimes other relations, of employees were given employment before the claims of outsiders were considered strengthened this family connection with the firm. So it was that

[1] For Parts I and II see the issues of September 1926 and March 1927.

at any time there might be found on the list of workers three generations of a single family, together with innumerable cousins, brothers-in-law, and other connections. This family grouping gave to the workers a more intimate touch with each other than probably could be found in any other industrial undertaking of similar magnitude, with the possible exception of coal-mining in some of the colliery districts of Great Britain; and it tended to make employment in the Brewery something of a closed borough, limited to the relatives and connections of those who were already in the employment. Inside the Brewery there lingered something which was, perhaps, an approximation to the psychology of feudalism, towards which the members of the Guinness family acted in the capacity of Lords of the Manor. In the workers there was a very definite feeling that they were superior to any who were so unfortunate as to work for any other firm, and a marked tendency to hold themselves aloof from public movements of every kind. Indeed even inside the Brewery itself it was difficult to achieve organisation for any purpose, whether that purpose were educational, recreational, or merely talkative, if the proposed organisation were not patronised by the Directors. This peculiar psychological state of the Guinness worker can best be described by saying that he existed in a state of independent dependence; independent of everything and everyone outside the Brewery, but completely and absolutely dependent inside. A stream of independent thought and opinion was unthinkable to the generation which worked there before the war, and more particularly before 1916. But all this seems to be in the process of changing now. The Rising of 1916 made an impression which the changes in government have made deep and permanent.

Employment in the Brewery was always difficult to secure, even for the sons and relatives of employees. For a long period, until a few years prior to 1914, all

juvenile positions were strictly reserved for the sons of employees; but a short time before the war the educational standards were raised, and the positions were opened to regulated competition. This system ensured that large numbers of workers, both clerical and manual, were first employed as messengers or attendants of some kind, and were afterwards drafted to other work in accordance with their educational attainments and aptitudes. But, nevertheless, the Application List for manual workers was always open for the reception of the names of those who desired to secure employment as general labourers on the permanent list. Temporary employees were usually secured from such other industries as Malthouses and Distilleries, which closed during the summer months when the Guinness trade was at its highest. For the permanent list young men between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six years were eligible, provided they were well-recommended by their pastors and by any previous employers, and that they could pass the qualifying medical examination. If they satisfied all these requirements their names were placed on the Application List, and they were called for employment as vacancies occurred. The medical examination was somewhat strict, and the minimum physical requirements were such that few city-bred men had any chance of securing employment. Because of this the majority of new employees came from the country, mainly from the barley-growing districts.

The first year of employment is considered a probation period for the worker, and during this period he is said to be on the B. List. At the end of a year he is again examined by the Medical Officers. If he is found to be physically fit and to comply with the standards, and if his home is found upon inspection to be sanitary and well-kept, he is placed upon the permanent or A. List. During the probationary period portion of his wages is held in reserve, and this "back money" is paid to him upon

entering the permanent employment—being placed " on the firm " it is called by the workers. Before the war the commencing wage was 22s. per week, increasing to 23s. per week in the second year of permanent employment. In the sixth, eleventh, and twenty-first years of employment there were further increases of 1s. per week until the maximum of 26s. per week was reached in the twenty-first year of continuous service. Since 1914 the increases necessitated by the rising cost and the changing standards of living were met by the grant of " war bonuses " in every year from 1915 to 1920. These increases have all now, with one or two exceptions in certain grades of workers, been made permanent, so that the commencing wage in 1926 was 51s. and 20s. " bonus," making 71s. per week in all, as compared with 21s. per week in 1914. The grades of workers which have not fared very well are those on the Tradesmen's List. In the case of tradesmen the wage paid in 1914 varied according to trade from 33s. to 37s. per week, but in 1926 the wages paid to tradesmen were only about 2s. per week above the Trade Union rate for the trade, and in the metal trades such as engineering, the Union rate is but little above that of 1914. So it is not at all unusual in the Brewery to discover that the labourer in attendance upon a skilled tradesman, his " helper " as he is called, is in receipt of a higher wage than the man upon whom he attends. The wages of the Tradesmen have been decreased from time to time in accord with decreases in the outside sections of the particular trade concerned, and it is now notorious that the wages of skilled men generally are not at all commensurate with the degree of skill required, and that the old difference between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers has almost gone.

In an industrial undertaking of such a size, and with such ramifications, there are found many kinds of work which require intelligence or skill above those of the average labourer. These kinds of work are all classified,

and the men who perform them are graded under numbers from 1 to 5, and are then promoted as the occasion offers and their qualifications make possible. To each of these grades a wage rate above that of the tariff is allotted, and men are selected from the ordinary labour list for promotion to Grade 5 in the first instance. In almost every Department there are foremen of all grades from 1 to 5, and there are also many semi-clerical posts which are not considered important enough to be held by members of the clerical staff, but which are graded and provide opportunities for promotion to workers on the ordinary labour list. To this category is relegated the very important position of Departmental Timekeeper in all Departments, the Storekeepers, and a small army of foremen. So it is comparatively easy for a man something above the labourer average of intelligence and education to get very much above the tariff rates of wages. To illustrate this it may be stated that the maximum wage for a man on the No. 1 Grade in 1914 was 39s. per week, while the rate paid to-day is 110s. per week, or nearly treble the pre-war figure. The rates of the other Grades have been increased in proportion.

In its treatment of employees who may be ill, or who meet with accidents in the course of their work, Messrs. Guinness ante-dated the provisions of the National Health Insurance Act of 1910 by nearly half a century. There are two doctors employed by the firm for the medical attendance upon employees, and one of these resides upon the brewery premises. Both are available for consultation at the Dispensary every day, except Sunday, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. This medical attendance is available for dependents of employees no less than for the employees themselves. Patients unable to come to the Dispensary are visited and treated by the doctors in their own homes. A worker who is unable to continue at work must report in person or by representative to the Medical Department on the first day of

his absence from work. He is then placed on the Sick List and his ordinary wages cease, but instead sick allowances are paid on the following basis: for a married man at home 75 per cent. of ordinary wage, in hospital 66 per cent. of ordinary wage; for an unmarried man at home 50 per cent. of wage, in hospital 25 per cent. of wage. At the discretion of the Chief Medical Officer full wages may be allowed where the needs of dependents cannot be adequately provided for by the sick allowance, and this discretion is generously exercised. Full wages are also paid in all cases where absence from work is necessitated by infectious or contagious disease in the home, the results of vaccination, and similar cases. Full wages are generally paid in accident cases, and to all workers in certain grades.

When an employee is unable to continue at his ordinary work, whether from illness, accident, or age, he may be recommended for a pension on a scale arranged upon wages and length of service. For all workers outside the Technical and Clerical Staffs the method of computation is one forty-fifth of the wage paid multiplied by the number of years of service, with a maximum of two-thirds the wage paid at the time of pensioning. Upon this basis, a man with thirty years service and a wage of three pounds per week would receive a pension for life of two pounds per week. This pension system is entirely voluntary on the part of the firm; it is not contributed to in any way by the workers. There is at present a movement on the part of some of the workers to organise a pension scheme upon a contributory basis which will supplement the pension paid by the company, the idea being to bring the full pension level with the ordinary wage of the pensioned person.

All employees other than members of the Technical and Clerical Staffs are entitled to free medical attendance for themselves and their dependents, and all employees without distinction are entitled to free medicines and

medical and surgical appliances as required. Guinness patients were always paid for in the Dublin hospitals, and consequently entry to a hospital for any employee requiring such treatment was always comparatively easy. Special arrangements exist with the Eye and Ear Hospital by which employees and their dependents are treated at the Hospital without fee on production of a card procurable at the Dispensary, and where spectacles are ordered they are provided by the firm without charge to the patient. Dental treatment has always been a prominent feature of the firm's welfare work. No person whose teeth are defective will be employed, and for many years arrangements existed with the Dental Hospital by which free dental treatment was given and dentures supplied upon easy terms. Now the firm has a dental department attached to its own dispensary, where first-class dentists are in attendance and where the amount of dental work done is surprising. In addition to all this the firm employs for the treatment of employees and dependents a trained general nurse, a masseuse, and a lady visitor who supervises the widows and orphans on the firm's pension list. All standard medicines, appliances, stimulants, milk, and even food and flannel, can be ordered by the Medical Officers at their discretion.

In the Medical Department is concentrated much of what has come in recent years to be called Industrial Welfare Work, and to this Department every employee of the firm is well acquainted. Before employment he is physically examined there, after employment he is vaccinated there, and there he must report when he is ill or when any member of his family requires medical attention. Everything connected with his physical well-being is under the control of this Department, which is staffed and equipped in the most up-to-date manner. So important is the work of the Department considered by the firm that it has grown to occupy a group of buildings where almost every kind of treatment can be given; the

most recent acquisition being an artificial sunlight installation. Some years ago an intensive survey of the living conditions of Brewery families was made under the direction of Sir John Lumsden, and upon the results of this survey much of the Welfare Work of the firm is based.

The Registry Department keeps the list of applicants for employment and the records of all employees; pays sick allowances, pensions, and gratuities; records all accidents and sees that the requirements of the Factory and Employer's Liability Acts are complied with; issues the annual free excursion vouchers; administers the technical education scheme for the younger employees; and many other functions connected with Welfare Work.

On the death of an employee, or pensioner, an allowance of £4 is made by the firm towards the expenses of burial, and provision is made for the widow and children should there be any. In the case of a widow a pension is granted on a scale based upon the length of service of her late husband, and in addition an allowance is made for every child under the age of 15 years until it reaches that age. Widows of deceased employees may secure employment themselves as office-cleaners, housekeepers, attendants, or otherwise, in the Brewery, or they may undertake home work by washing or sewing, in each of which there is a considerable amount of work, as very little work is given out to public laundries. When a widow dies an allowance of £3 is made towards the funeral expenses, and the allowance made for children under sixteen dependent upon her is increased. To encourage the regular attendance at school of the sons of widows these boys are provided with a free dinner every day at the Workmen's Rooms. But this is dependent upon regular attendance at school. The attendances are checked and inspected monthly by the Registry Department. Exclusive of Bank Holidays and the special Brewery holiday known as Queen's Day, every employee is entitled

to a yearly holiday, varying in duration from a few days to a fortnight. Queen's Day is intended to commemorate the visit paid by Queen Victoria to Dublin in 1901, and up to the war it was celebrated every year by festivities at the grounds of the Royal Dublin Society at Ballsbridge. During the war and its aftermath these festivities were allowed to lapse, and the day is now added to the annual holiday. In addition to the time every encouragement is given to enable the worker to have his holiday with his family out of the city. Every employee on the manual workers' list is provided with free railway tickets for himself and his family to almost any place in Ireland, and to many seaside resorts in England, Wales, and the Isle of Man. A cash allowance, varying for married and single men, is also made to defray part of the incidental expenses of the holiday. Special provision is made for prolonged sojourns in the country for convalescents, and for widows and orphans unable to afford a holiday.

Boys who may desire to enter the Brewery service as messengers, attendants, or boy labourers, can have their names entered on the list of applicants on production of school certificates, birth certificates, and satisfactory references from their parish clergy or other responsible persons. Examinations are held at frequent intervals, and selections are made on the results of the examinations to fill any vacancies which may exist at the time. Before employment a boy must have reached the age of 14 years, and have passed the necessary medical and literary examinations. A boy may remain in this grade of employment, the Boys' List, until he reaches the age of eighteen years, after which, if he has given satisfaction and is considered suitable, he may remain in the service as a labourer on what is called the Youths' List until he reaches the age of twenty-one. Before the war he might, had he been specially recommended, have been allowed to compete for a clerkship on the No. 2 Clerical Staff, but no examinations have been held for this staff

for many years. All boys in the employment are provided with a free hot meal in the middle of the day. In the past the prospects of boys entering the service of the Brewery were very much better than they are at present. It was somewhat unusual for a boy to leave the service when once he had entered it; nowadays it seems to be just as unusual for a boy to remain.

In the past the boy who entered the Guinness service at the age of 14 did not enter a blind-alley employment, but it appears that it is now as much of a blind-alley employment as anything to be found elsewhere. In one respect, however, it differs very much from the usual blind-alley employment. Full provision is made for the continuance of a boy's education in the evening classes of the Dublin Technical Schools. Attendance at these classes is compulsory, and strict supervision is kept over the attendances. Inducements in the shape of scholarships and prizes are numerous, and compensation for the time spent at school is made by additions to the annual holiday period. It is thus possible for a boy to get educated free; to have considerable additions made to his income in prize-money; and to have a good long holiday each year through the Technical Education Scheme in operation in the Brewery. There is a special Educational Section of the Registry Department to supervise this scheme, and any boy who fails to make full use of it, as many do, ignores a benefit that is not easily procurable elsewhere in Ireland.

In addition to all these things a large number of employees, such as messengers, draymen, cooperage workers, and everyone engaged in any work likely to involve injury to their own clothing, is provided with clothing of a suitable kind by the firm. In fact it might be somewhat difficult to discover employees who are not in receipt of some kind of clothing. Everything from collars and ties to heavy tweed and oilskin overcoats and boots is provided when the nature of the work demands

such supply. Everyone is familiar with the grey overcoat of the Guinness drayman, as they were once familiar with the claret-coloured livery of the messenger boys. Then again every worker is entitled to have two pints of porter per day, or should he be a total abstainer he may have the equivalent in cash, or "scrips" which can be exchanged at the Co-operative Store. At one time there actually did exist a complete co-operative store which stocked everything on the scale of a large London Store. But that store has been closed for a long time, and now all that remains is an arrangement with many Dublin shops to supply brewery employees with goods at a discount of 12½ per cent. These goods may also be procured on the instalment plan, the Brewery paying cash to the trader and the employee paying instalments to the office of the Co-operative Store. All kinds of goods may be procured under this arrangement, and may be paid for by the allowances made in lieu of stout.

Encouraged by the Directors are many forms of activity which do not quite form part of the commercial basis of the institution, but which are useful or educational to the employees. There is a Musical Society which gives concerts and operatic performances frequently; a Fanciers and Industrial Society which exists for the encouragement of bird and animal fanciers and the domestic arts and crafts. The Fanciers Society holds an annual show at which there are thousands of exhibts, and at which hundreds of prizes are awarded. There is the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, both of which had their Irish roots in the Brewery, and which always have a squad on duty in the Brewery Fire Brigade Station ready for any accidents which may occur. There is the Athletic and Cycling Union which caters for all kinds of outdoor sport. To enable this Union to do its work under better conditions than is possible at the present ground at St. James's Park, a new sports ground

is now being laid out by the Directors at Crumlin. When this new sports ground is ready, as it will be very soon, it will be one of the best-equipped enclosures of its kind in Ireland. In the Workmen's Rooms workers may have their meals at very low rates, and there also they have all the current newspapers and periodicals as well as a good Lending Library and provision for indoor games such as billiards, chess and draughts. Here also is provided bathing accommodation for those who have not such accommodation in their own homes. There is a large hall with a fine stage suitable for dramatic entertainments and available at any time upon application.

All these things tend to keep the Guinness worker apart from the mass of his fellows. He has everything that he is likely to require whether in indoor or outdoor amusements. He has that continuity and permanence of employment which is so valued by all workers; he knows that his wage will increase automatically at stated periods, and that bonuses are frequent; he knows also that promotion is quite within the range of possibility. He has in the various kinds of provision made by the firm for his welfare an actual addition to his wage which it would be difficult to measure. Given all these things it is not at all necessary to seek far for a reason why the Guinness worker was a thing apart. He belonged to a family rather than to a firm, and his own family was generally about him in his work as in his home. But there are indications of change. They are yet not so fully marked as to make any serious comment upon them necessary, but it seems probable that in the course of time, if the policy of the firm continues to change, the Guinness worker will lose his distinctive marks.

ANDREW E. MALONE.

CHURCH AND STATE IN TWO CATHOLIC MISSIONS [1]

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

NEWS from China has made us all think more than was our wont about Catholic missionary policy in the Far East. Thirty years ago when the Boxer troubles were beginning, almost all the Catholic missions involved in that disaster were controlled by French priests and nuns who looked to France for protection in their hour of danger. To-day, as province after province is caught up in the civil war, news reaches us of missionaries from almost every European country. Catholics in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Austria are waiting for news as anxiously as we wait here in Ireland; and nobody thinks of France as the natural protector of all these missions. What has happened? A protectorate which fifty years ago was almost a monopoly, and which had been acquired during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in conscious imitation of the old Portuguese "Padroado," has practically ceased to exist under the pressure of modern expansion. France is still the natural protector of French subjects in China, and Frenchmen are still a majority among Catholic missionaries; but the old claim of the French kings to an exclusive protectorate over Catholic missions in the Far East has gone by default. It is a hopeful change, for the Church is Catholic. Whatever the future of her missions in China may be, they will not henceforth be hampered by the control of any single European nation.

[1] *Bombay Mission-History with a special study of the Padroado Question*—By Ernest R. Hull, S.J. Vol. I, 1534-1858. Bombay: Examiner Press; London: Herder. 1927. 6s.

Historical Memoirs of New California—By Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M. Translated into English and edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. 4 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1926.

The future is thus full of hope—but the past is too easily forgotten, with its lessons and its warnings. Two recent publications, each the result of research in much-neglected archives, are thus doubly instructive for students of missionary history. The documents here published for the first time, or re-published in more accessible form, throw unexpected light on the history of Catholic missions in the days of the old Royal Patronage.

Father Hull has entitled his work, of which we have so far only the first volume, "Bombay Mission-History with a special study of the Padroado Question." I am not sure that he would not have done better to choose the alternative title which he himself suggests in his preface: "A Study of the Padroado Question with special relation to Bombay." For his book is in no sense a complete history of the Bombay Mission. That history begins with the coming of Portuguese Franciscans to the island of Bombay in 1534, possibly a few years earlier. For the next two hundred years the Bombay mission was entirely in the hands of Portuguese priests, and formed part of the Diocese of Goa. Father Hull dismisses this portion of his subject in a brief summary of 25 pages, and begins his history proper with the coming of the Italian Carmelites in 1720. Hasty readers of his volume may overlook this disproportion, thereby doing grave injustice to the history of Portuguese missionary activity. When the Portuguese were expelled from the island of Bombay in 1720, they left 5,000 Catholics behind them out of a total population of 15,000. That is no mean record of missionary activity; and Father Hull, who is himself a most impartial chronicler, reminds his readers of these forgotten statistics. Would that all critics of the Portuguese Catholic priesthood were as fair-minded!

This early Portuguese mission was, of course, not confined to the island of Bombay. Father Hull publishes a series of admirable maps to illustrate the complicated

story which he has to tell, and it will be well to set down here plainly the main facts. The See of Goa was established in 1534, with a jurisdiction which at first comprised vaguely all territories discovered, or to be discovered, by the Portuguese from the Cape of Good Hope to India, and from India to China. Later (between 1557 and 1606) the Suffragan Sees of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore were erected in Southern India, but the rest of India remained vaguely to the Archdiocese of Goa. On paper the territory thus assigned to Goa was immense, but Father Hull's maps show that in practice Portuguese missionary activity was confined to the following areas: a small portion of the mainland round Goa, the group of six islands (Bombay, Karanja, Bandra, Trombay, Salsette and Bassein), a narrow strip of the mainland running up north from Bombay to Damaun, and a small area round Diu in Kathiawar. The rest of the mainland was at no time subject to Portuguese military control, and was never more than nominally subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of Goa. Even within these limited areas Portuguese control did not prove lasting. Bombay Island was ceded to the British in 1665 as part of the marriage-settlement between Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal. Bassein, Salsette and Karanja were taken by the Marathas in 1739, and later acquired by the British (1774-1800). Since 1739 the Portuguese have only retained three small posts in India: Goa, Damaun and Diu. France, a late-comer in these parts, can claim more.

The coming of the English in 1664 brought serious trouble to the Bombay mission. The terms of the Marriage Treaty provided for religious tolerance, and on the whole "the Honourable East India Company" kept this part of their compact, though they objected to the conversion of Protestant residents and insisted that the children of mixed marriages should be brought up Protestants, if the father (as usually happened) was a

Protestant. An Englishman named Fryer, who visited Bombay in 1674, describes "the liberty granted [to the various sections of the population, both Christian and heathen] in their several religions, which are here solemnised with variety of fopperies—a toleration consistent enough with the rules of gain, though both Moors and Portugals despise us for it." But there was trickery in plenty where it was a question of extending British claims to Portuguese territory, and the Portuguese clergy were naturally against the intruding government. Most of the local clergy were Franciscans, but there were Jesuits on the island of Bandra and an unknown number of secular priests, some of whom may have been natives. Of them all the Jesuits seem to have given the English most trouble, but complaints were general against all the Portuguese clergy. After fifty years of constant bickering the English had recourse to violence. In 1720 they expelled the whole of the Portuguese clergy from the island, and called in Italian Carmelites from the neighbouring Vicariate of the Great Mogul. Father Hull's history, which really begins at this point, is the story of the age-long quarrel between these two rival claimants to spiritual jurisdiction over Bombay: the old Portuguese See of Goa, founded in 1534, and the new Vicariate of the Great Mogul, founded by Propaganda in 1637 and violently extended to the territory of Bombay by act of the East India Company in 1720.

With anything like a fair chance the Italian Carmelites, who had the sanction of the Holy See for their arrival, might perhaps have been able to carry on the work of the Portuguese Franciscans: a generation or so of inevitable ill-feeling would have been followed by some sort of workable compromise. But Governor Charles Boone, the zealous East India officer responsible for the expulsion of 1720, had yet to learn the intricacies of Canon Law. Under Portuguese rule the Bombay mission was part of the Archdiocese of Goa, and was thus within

the sphere of the Royal Patronage: no bishop or priest could be appointed in the Archdiocese without the nomination or consent of the King of Portugal. The Vicariate of the Great Mogul, on the other hand, was a creation of Propaganda, at that time a new Congregation, dating back no farther than 1622: the jurisdiction which obtained in the Vicariate thus came directly from the Holy See, and was (or was claimed to be) in no way subject to Portuguese interference. Bombay was thus transferred from one jurisdiction to the other, and became involved in a controversy which continues to the present day.

Father Hull's main purpose is to throw light on the obscure details of this famous struggle. Beginning with the troubles of the Carmelite Vicar General Fre Mauricius de Sta. Teresa in 1720, he publishes document after document to illustrate his story, whether the documents at his disposal tell for or against the rival claims of Propaganda or the Portuguese. Some of the documents are printed in full, others in the form of longer or shorter abstracts; all with a commentary which is everywhere clear, impartial and helpful. The main episodes are as follows: the Carmelite Regime (1720-1789); a reversion to Goa (1789); the immediate reversal of that policy in 1791, and an attempt at compromise involving recognition of two simultaneous jurisdictions; a period of discontent and lost opportunities (1792-1832); then the attempted solution of 1832-1838, involving the creation of new Vicariates throughout India and the complete withdrawal of "Portuguese" jurisdiction within their territories; finally a period of strife verging on schism, ended by the present compromise which dates back to 1886.[1]

The great merit of Father Hull's volume is that he

[1] Father Hull's present volume ends with the arrival of the German Jesuits in Bombay in 1858. A second volume is announced as soon as its parts have appeared in the columns of the *Bombay Examiner*.

views the local troubles of Bombay in the light of general history. For the Padroado controversy involved for a time the whole Far East, and is still a burning question in half the dioceses of India. The problem to be solved is plain enough. During the sixteenth century a succession of Popes had granted exclusive rights of Patronage to the Kings of Portugal in recognition of their great services to the Catholic Church. This right was granted in perpetuity, and some of the bulls erecting various Sees of the Far East—Goa, Cochin, Malacca, Funai in Japan, Mylapore—expressly state that this right *cannot be derogated by the Holy See itself, not even in Consistory*, unless the king for the time being gives his consent. Each of these early dioceses claimed a vast, ill-defined area of territory, far beyond all existing missionary resources. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was plain that Portugal could no longer bear the full weight of Catholic missionary activity in the Far East. Vicariates were founded by the Holy See in India and China, owing their jurisdiction to the action of Propaganda, not to Portuguese nomination. Where the territory of these new Vicariates was remote from the spheres of Portuguese influence—as in most of China and in the Vicariate of the Great Mogul in India—conflict between the two jurisdictions was easily avoided. But elsewhere—in Macao (near Canton), Cochin-China and Burma as well as in the Indian dioceses of Mylapore, Cochin, Cranganore and Goa—the noise of conflict is so loud that we are apt to forget the saints and martyrs (St. John de Britto, for example, in Madura and the Ven. Father Vaz in Ceylon) who lived and worked in the midst of all this din.

Father Hull makes the general policy of Propaganda plain. Faced with the problem of Papal bulls which, if words are to have their proper meaning, make revocation of the Portuguese rights dependent for ever on the good-will of the Portuguese king, the Cardinals did not attempt to settle the legal problem in theory. Wherever

the Portuguese authorities were plainly unable to carry on the work of Catholic missions, Propaganda appointed a Vicar Apostolic, whose territory was usually within the area of some ill-defined Portuguese jurisdiction—and the Vicar, once appointed, was left to settle his own practical difficulties. In China and Cochin-China the plan worked well enough. Portugal had never more than a nominal claim to protectorate over these countries, though her government has always been able to make trouble in Macao. In India things were different. Most of the Visitors and Vicars Apostolic appointed by Propaganda in the seventeenth century were unable to exercise their functions owing to the stubborn opposition of Portuguese civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Even the Vicariate of the Great Mogul, which could claim an unbroken line of Vicars from 1637 to 1832 and which, at one time or another, included half India in its jurisdiction, did little or nothing for the conversion of the heathen world. For a century and a half Catholic missionary activity in India was largely paralysed. Here and there along the coast Portuguese priests carried on the old traditions of apostolic heroism; most famous of all is the Portuguese Jesuit mission of Madura. In the interior a handful of French and Italian missionaries did their best in impossible surroundings; but domestic strife, even more than the increase of English Protestant influence, steadily weakened the Catholic position. Father Hull has on the whole a distressing story to tell.

For Irish readers the most interesting portion of his narrative will be found in the series of chapters beginning with the creation of new Vicariates in 1832. Pope Gregory XVI (1830-1846) had been for five years Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, and was determined to reorganise Catholic missionary forces in India. Two years after his election he redistributed the whole of India between the following areas of jurisdiction: (1) the four old Padroado dioceses of Goa, Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore, which

were confirmed in their ancient privileges but reduced to definite, limited areas of jurisdiction; (2) the three old Vicariates of Malabar or Verapoly (Carmelites), the Great Mogul, now re-named Bombay (Carmelites) and Patna (Capuchins); (3) five new Vicariates: Madras, Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon and Canara or Mylapore. There remained the question of disputed jurisdiction in the areas now assigned to a new Vicariate, but which formerly had been under Portuguese jurisdiction. The Brief *Multa Praeclare* of 1838 formally withdrew all Padroado jurisdiction within the territories of these eight Vicariates; but, alas! *Multa Praeclare* was immediately rejected by the Portuguese hierarchy, who rested their claims on the Papal bulls of the sixteenth century.

In the struggle which followed three Irishmen play a prominent part: Dr. Robert St. Leger, an Irish Jesuit, first Vicar Apostolic of Bengal; Dr. Daniel O'Connor, an Irish Augustinian, first Vicar Apostolic of Madras; and Dr. John Francis Whelan, an Irish Carmelite, who was at first Coadjutor to Dr. Fortini, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay (1842-1850), and then for two stormy years was himself Vicar Apostolic and "a sign to be contradicted." Dr Whelan's story is told in full by Father Hull. It is the story of a good man distracted by many cares, and plainly unable to cope with a very difficult situation: Portuguese, Italian and Irish subjects made his diocese a cage of raging lions, and Dr. Whelan came near to being devoured. In 1850 he was recalled to Rome and the Vicariate was administered for the next eight years by Dr. Hartmann, a German Capuchin and Vicar Apostolic of the neighbouring Vicariate of Patna; in 1858 the Vicariate was finally handed over to the German Jesuits, who remained there until the outbreak of the recent war. Dr. St. Leger's stay in Calcutta was also brief, though his Vicariate proved less stormy than Dr. Whelan's rule.[1]

[1] The story of Dr. St. Leger's time in Calcutta has been told recently by Father H. Josson, S.J., in his *Mission du Bengale Occidental* (Bruges. 1921. Vol. I, pp. 162-185).

After four years spent in India, he was withdrawn by Propaganda owing to differences of opinion concerning his educational policy. Dr. O'Connor also left Madras after a stay of only five or six years: his immediate successor was Dr. Carew of Maynooth, who was himself succeeded first by Dr. John Fennelly of Maynooth (1842-1868) and then by the latter's brother, Dr. Stephen Fennelly (1868-1880), thus establishing a succession of Irish Vicars Apostolic for almost fifty years.[1] Dr. Carew, it should be added, left Madras for Calcutta in 1841, and remained there as Vicar Apostolic until 1855.[2] Four years later the Bengal Mission was taken over by the Belgian Jesuits, who are there to-day.

Portugal's claim to a privileged position in the Far East has left the Church a legacy of strife and mutual jealousy which has not yet worked itself out. Why was Spain so much more successful in the West? The history of Catholic missions in Mexico and California suggests a twofold answer. Spain, being a larger, richer and more populous country than Portugal, was better able to justify her claims to a protectorate by the lasting conquests which she made in the mainland of Central and Southern America; and Spanish statesmen were wise enough to interpret the Royal Patronage in a more liberal spirit than was shown by the Portuguese. Complaints were often made against the interference of Spanish governors in purely spiritual affairs, and missionary policy was often hampered; but on the whole Spain's Royal Patronage worked well for nearly three centuries, and that is more than can be said for most political systems.

California is a peculiarly instructive example. Let the reader look at his map of Central America. He will note the artificial boundary which still separates—for how

[1] See Father T. Gavan Duffy's article on these two brothers in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (May, 1921).

[2] See Father Josson's account of his Vicariate (*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 192-262).

long?—Mexico from the United States. That long, narrow peninsula, which juts down into the Pacific Ocean and is known as Lower California, though it is still part of Mexico, was once the whole of California; and the towns still marked on any modern map—La Paz, San José, San Ignacio, San Francisco, San Borja, Santiago, Todos Santos, Purissima—show that it was first civilised by Spanish Jesuits. This Jesuit mission was founded in 1697 as an extension of the older Jesuit mission in Northern Mexico. Two names are conspicuous in its history: Father Eusebius Kühn (better known as Kino), who was the first to make the overland-route from Mexico across the Colorado River, thereby proving that Lower California was a peninsula, not an island; and Father John Jacob Baegert, one of the sixteen Jesuits expelled by act of the Spanish government in 1767, who returned to Europe after the expulsion and published in Germany the most reliable history of this first missionary endeavour. Both Fathers were German, and the coincidence is no mere accident. From the end of the seventeenth century onwards Spanish missionary activity in the West, like Portuguese missionary activity in the East, began to decline. There was no sudden falling-off, but it became increasingly difficult to satisfy the annual claims of Spain's vast mission-fields. Instead of allowing her missions to decay, Spain's statesmen, after some years of hesitation, welcomed the offer of foreign help. Our own Father Michael Wadding, an Irish Jesuit from Waterford, was one of the early volunteers. Having studied at Lisbon and Salamanca, he entered the Society in 1607 and left Spain for Mexico some years later. For eight years he laboured in the mission along the coast of the Gulf of California: two of his fellow-missionaries suffered martyrdom during these eight years, and he himself was once forced to save his life by taking to the woods. Then he was recalled to teach philosophy and theology in the Jesuit colleges of Mexico, and his name

survives to-day in Spain as Padre Miguel Godinez, author of a well-known treatise on Mystical Theology.[1]

Father Wadding is a type of the many generous souls who offered themselves for work in the Spanish mission-fields during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of them were Germans, though their names are often disguised as effectively as Wadding in the guise of Godinez. Germany was Spain's natural ally, Germans had no mission-field of their own, and experience soon showed that German missionaries were amazingly hard-working, capable and self-sacrificing. Year after year the number of German missionaries going out to the West Indies grew larger and larger. Brazil, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, Mexico, California : wherever workers were needed, they went, and the Jesuit catalogues show them at work in the hardest mission-fields. Father Kühn and Father Baegert are thus only two of an army whose names are now-a-days known only to professed students of missionary history, but whose work is one of the chief glories of Catholic Germany.[2]

On the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767—an act of royal autocracy—the Californian mission was offered to the Franciscans, who were then sharing with the Jesuits the most laborious mission-fields of Mexico. A contingent of 15 missionaries was sent from the college of San Fernando, Father Juniper Serra at their head. With him came Father Francis Palóu, the historian of the mission. For five years the Franciscans laboured on the peninsula—Lower California, as it is now called, but Palóu calls it simply Old California. Then a call came for fresh adventure. Alta California, the present State of California, was still unoccupied territory ; but rumours had reached Spain that the Russians coveted its harbours.

[1] See an account of Fr. Wadding's career in Dr. P. Power's *Waterford's Saints and Scholars* (Waterford, 1920, pp. 32-38).

[2] Most of the evidence has been collected by Father A. Huonder, S.J., in his *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des xvii und xviii Jahrhunderts.* [Supplement to vol. lxxiv (1899) of *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.*]

An expedition was hastily fitted out by land and sea, and the Franciscans were asked to go with the pioneers. Leaving Old California to the Dominicans, who had volunteered for the work, ten Franciscans went on to this new No Man's Land, once more under Father Serra. There they remain to this day—and if you look at the map you will find San José, San Raphael, Santa Clara and San Buenaventura clustering like stars round the sun of their system—the city which guards the entrance to that glorious bay known to Father Palóu as "the harbour of our Seraphic Father San Francisco."

The first settlement was founded there in the year 1776, and last year the University of California—at present the largest in all the United States—celebrated the 150th anniversary of California's capital by publishing for the first time in an English version, and in four admirably printed volumes, the story of those early years as told by Father Palóu for the instruction of his Franciscan brethren. It is a very simple narrative, and the editor has done well not to encumber his text with long historical notes.[1] Most of Palóu's history is the story of an eye-witness, for he was always Serra's right-hand man, said the first Mass ever said in San Francisco and knew every detail of the mission's work. Where his own experience fails him—as in the story of that romantic expedition of 1770, when the Spanish soldiers set out from San Diego to discover Monterey, and, overshooting their mark, came near to starving in the wilds of California—Palóu gives us the story in the form of a diary kept by Father John Crespi, chaplain to the expedition.

How that diary tempts me to the sin of quotation! At first it was more like a pic-nic than a military expedition. The heathen who appeared every day during the march were always so friendly, the most unkind of

[1] There are critical notes at the end of each volume, and vol. iv contains about thirty unpublished letters.

them never doing more than shout loudly from some hill. And Father Crespi is careful to note that their womenfolk were always modestly dressed, though the men "had no more clothing than nature gives, which is the only kind they use." "Hanging from their hair they had snails and seashells"—and as choice presents they gave the serjeant "roasted sardines and mussels." And on the march there were "mescales, cocobas, choyas, and other California cacti" for flora, and for fauna, antelopes and "small turtles, about a hand-breadth in size," which they caught in a pond. Later they saw their first asphalt-beds—"large marshes of a certain substance like pitch; they were boiling and bubbling, and the pitch came out mixed with an abundance of water." And, later still, they began to starve.

It is all very human, very child-like; but what a light it throws on Spanish history! Here at the end of the 18th century Spain feels herself still strong enough to reach out beyond the established boundary of her Empire, and to settle a new land. Her priests go side by side with her soldiers and sailors. Mass is said on the first day of the expedition, and on every Sunday. Mass is said again in the presence of all, when the commander and his council have to make the choice between going on through the wilds or turning back. Mass is so essential to the life of the soldiers that once "the whole afternoon was spent in trying to make altar-breads for celebrating Mass, but not one could be taken out." And when the first children are baptized in a village of friendly heathen, Father Crespi and his soldiers called the place Los Cristianos or the valley of Los Bautismos: to-day men still speak of Cristianitos Canyon.

Palóu's narrative goes down to 1783, when he left California for Mexico. During the ten years which he covers most of the principal Spanish settlements were founded: San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara, San José, San Buenaventura and

Santa Barbara. More than that, the foundations of future developments were laid securely. Serra and Palóu were ideal founders, zealous, untiring, full of enterprise, and understanding to the full how to conciliate the temper of Spanish governors. The natives proved as "docile, friendly and submissive" as Father Crespi describes them in his diary, and the followers of Serra and Palóu were able to build up an agricultural community as idyllic and as successful commercially as the famous reductions of Paraguay. At the height of their prosperity the Franciscan missions "owned altogether 232,000 heads of cattle, 268,000 sheep, 34,000 horses, 3,500 mules, 8,300 goats and 3,400 swine"; and the official records of the missions from 1770 to the end of 1831 show that during these sixty years "there were harvested in round numbers 2,200,000 bushels of wheat, 600,000 bushels of barley, 850,000 bushels of corn, 160,000 bushels of beans and 100,000 bushels of peas and lentils"—this in a country where agriculture was unknown before the coming of the Franciscans.[1] After the revolt of 1822 Mexican national policy was increasingly unfavourable to the Catholic Church, and the missions were definitely secularised in 1834. But as late as 1852 a special United States report bears witness that the Franciscans had turned these naked savages into "masons, carpenters, plasterers, soapmakers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, brickmakers, carters and cartmakers, weavers and spinners, saddlers, shepherds, agriculturalists, herdsmen, vintagers—in a word they filled all the laborious occupations known to civilised society." If only Yankee politicians and adventurers had imitated their Spanish predecessors!

This is the pleasant side of the Spanish Padronado. There were other, less pleasant possibilities, as Father

[1] I take my figures from the article on Californian Missions in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The article is by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., whose work *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908) is quoted by Palóu's editor, Professor H. E. Bolton, as the standard work on the subject.

Palóu found out during the five years of his stay in Lower California. Here the Franciscan Fathers had trouble with two governors : one a Spaniard of uncertain temper, the other Don Felipe Barry—apparently one of the many Wild Geese who did us little credit abroad in the eighteenth century. Don Felipe quarrelled with the Franciscans almost immediately after his arrival, and these troubles with the governor, who had a Dominican chaplain, made it less of a trial for the Franciscans to hand over a difficult mission to "the sons of our Cherubic Father San Domingo." A few years later Barry quarrelled with the Dominicans, and the mission never prospered. Even the Jesuits, after seventy years of continuous labour, failed, as they themselves admitted, to make a permanent impression on the natives. To-day Old California has neither missions nor natives. The revolt of Mexico from Spanish rule in 1822 put an end to the Royal Patronage, and the Mexican republic has never cared to take up the succession. New California still claims historic connection with the old Franciscan missions, but the fate of the missions which Father Palóu helped to found has not been what he hoped. From 1822 onwards New California was for a time Mexican territory. Its missions were already decaying when the United States annexed San Francisco in 1848. A year later the gold-rush of the "Forty-Niners" brought a new world to California. The Catholic Church is strong in San Francisco to-day, and an Irish prelate now rules over an archdiocese which would have been the wonder and envy of Serra and Palóu ; but the Seraphic name of San Francisco is now almost the sole survival of the good work done there a hundred and fifty years ago by those adventurous, simple-hearted pioneers.

Aubrey Gwynn.

A GREAT DISCOVERY AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR IRELAND

BY DANIEL O'CONNELL, S.J., M.SC.

CAN anything progressive come from Spain ? To so many people Spain is typified by Don Quixote or Torquemada, a land of chivalry but none the less the home of reaction and obscurantism. For advances in science and industry we are accustomed to look to Germany, the United States, England. Yet one of the most revolutionary inventions of the age has had its birth in the brain of a Spanish priest, and a Jesuit at that. Padre Almeida has solved the problem that has baffled the experts for the past fifty years. Millions sterling have been spent in various countries in researches with the object of increasing the capacity of an electrical accumulator, or storage-battery, in proportion to its weight. The result has been an increase of the capacity by a fraction at most. Padre Almeida has now perfected an accumulator with ten times the capacity of any other accumulator of the same weight.

Edmundo Almeida was born in 1893, in the city of Salamanca. He pursued his early studies in the seminary at Salamanca, and entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in 1908. As he showed marked ability for Physics and Mechanics, his Superiors decided to give him every opportunity to develop his talent along these lines. After some years of study he taught Physics at the Colleges of Vigo and Valladolid and subsequently at the Institute of Arts and Industry in Madrid. In 1920 he went to the Collegium Maximum at Valkenburg, Holland, to continue his studies. Having already a number of minor inventions to his credit, he had been considering for some time the question of accumulators. While at Valkenburg, to be precise in October, 1921, there occurred to him a possible way of solving the problem. He discussed his idea with the well-known German physicist and inventor, Fr. Theodor Wulf, S.J., and set to work to carry out experiments with a view to its realisation. It was no easy task. Years of arduous work were needed before the invention was fully perfected. This work was carried out chiefly in laboratories specially constructed for Fr. Almeida by Count de Mieres at Gijón

and Mieres, in Spain. At times Fr. Almeida almost gave up hope of overcoming the practical difficulties, but finally, in the spring of 1925, the Almeida accumulator was ready.

Before describing this invention and its various applications, it will be well to give a brief account of the development of the accumulator up to the point at which Fr. Almeida attacked the problem.

In 1802 Wilhelm Ritter, in Germany, carried out the electrochemical researches which led eventually to the invention of the accumulator. However, it was not until 1854 that the first accumulator was made by Sinsteden. In 1859 Gaston Planté constructed an accumulator with lead electrodes and with sulphuric acid as the electrolyte. This acid accumulator, with various improvements in the details of construction, is essentially the type most commonly used to-day.

Various investigators had attempted to design an alkaline accumulator, but without much success until, in the beginning of this century, Edison produced his accumulator with nickel and iron electrodes and a solution of caustic potash as the electrolyte.

Both types of accumulator have many disadvantages, the chief being their weight and bulk. Numerous costly experiments succeeded in increasing by only a small amount the capacity of the accumulator in proportion to its weight and volume. For instance, the great German Akkumulatoren-Fabrik Company spent 30 million gold marks on one series of experiments without achieving any great result.

The Almeida Accumulator[1]

Father Almeida describes his accumulator as at the same time "neutral" and "catalytic." As full details of the accumulator cannot be published at present, only a general idea of its nature and working can be given. The negative electrode is a zinc plate. The positive electrode is a combination of some non-active conductor and finely-divided silver, the silver acting as a catalytic agent. The electrolyte consists chiefly of an aqueous solution of zinc chloride, mixed with other halogen salts of the same metal but of lower heat of formation. The nature of these halogen salts and their proportions are not stated; but, if we take zinc bromide as an example of a halogen salt with the requisite heat

[1] Father Almeida has kindly supplied information about the history of his invention, the construction of the accumulator and the results of various experiments to determine the capacity, efficiency, etc.

of formation, we can form an idea of the changes that take place when the accumulator is charged.

In the charging process three phases can be distinguished. First of all the zinc bromide decomposes, the zinc being deposited on the zinc plate, the bromine combining with the silver to form silver bromide. This continues until saturation is reached, that is, until all the silver has been used up in the formation of silver bromide. In this first stage the voltage reached is ·94 volts.

In the second phase the free bromine is occluded in the non-active conductor of the positive plate, the voltage rising to 1·94 volts for a dilute and 1·6 for a super-saturated solution.

When all the zinc bromide is decomposed the third phase begins with the decomposition of the zinc chloride, the chlorine displacing the bromine in the silver bromide to form silver chloride. When saturation-point is reached, the free chlorine combines with the bromine to form chloride of bromine. In this phase the maximum voltage reached is 2·5 volts in a dilute and 2·2 in a super-saturated solution, the latter being the normal value. On discharging the accumulator the processes are reversed. The chemical reactions are assisted by the contact difference of potential between the silver and the non-active conductor of the positive plate.

Its Advantages

1. Of the many advantages claimed for the Almeida accumulator the very great increase in capacity is the most important. The capacity is ten times as great as that of any other accumulator of the same weight, and five times as great as that of any other of the same volume.

2. The charging-rate is very high. Whereas for other accumulators it amounts to 1 ampere per kilogram, for the Almeida it is 20 amps. per kilo. The initial charge becomes also a much more expeditious process. Early this year when Fr. Almeida was supervising the construction of an accumulator in the Schneider factory in Paris, the initial charge was started at 5 o'clock one evening; the accumulator was completely ready next morning. With the old accumulators the process lasts several days. This high charging-rate is due to the high velocity of absorption of the positive plate.

3. A further consequence of this velocity of absorption is that no bubbles are formed on the plates, and consequently there is no polarisation.

4. Rapid discharge will not cause any damage. Even in the vent of a short circuit there is no danger of sulphating or of uckling the plates, such as would occur with an ordinary ccumulator.

5. No sediment is formed in the cells.

6. The efficiency is very high. The ratio of the energy measured in watt-hours) obtained from the Almeida accumulator o that supplied in charging is 93 per cent. For the acid accumuator this ratio is at best about 75 per cent., for the Edison about 0 per cent. The ratio of the quantity of electricity (measured n ampere-hours) obtained from the accumulator to the quantity upplied is 100 per cent; for the acid accumulator it is about 92 er cent.

7. An ordinary accumulator, even when unloaded, discharges radually. The Almeida remains in perfect equilibrium and maintains its charge indefinitely.

8. Charging may be continued indefinitely without damage o the accumulator; overcharging would ruin another accumulator.

9. Ordinary accumulators should not be discharged below a ertain point; the Almeida can be discharged completely without uffering any harm.

10. The distance between the plates is as low as 2 mm. In he acid accumulator it is about $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

11. The substitution for sulphuric acid of solutions of the alogen salts of zinc is an obvious advantage in the manufacturing and handling of accumulators.

Applications

So many are the purposes for which accumulators are used owadays that it is impossible in the space of a short article to iscuss in any detail the effects of this invention in all their ramifications. There is hardly an industry that will not be affected. here is no country that can afford to neglect this new factor in ndustrial life. All that can be done here is to sketch some of the more important developments that are likely to take place in the near future.

It is not too much to say that we shall have to face a revolution in transport—by rail, road, and sea.

Of late years electrification of railways has become a question f growing importance. In most European countries, in America,

in Australia, the electric train has begun to displace the steam-locomotive. In spite of the heavy initial cost the change has proved economical and beneficial. Now at one stroke this initial cost has been materially lessened. With the advent of the Almeida accumulator there is no further need for overhead wires and supporting standards.

Electric trains driven on accumulators instead of by energy supplied through overhead wires, are not an innovation. For some years past a considerable number of these trains have been in use on the German railways,[1] the erection of overhead wires being considered in certain cases inconvenient or too expensive. A train consists of two or three motor-coaches with batteries at either end of the train ; so far these trains have been used only for passenger traffic. If water-power is available, the saving in fuel is evident. Even in the absence of water-power, considerable economy has been effected. It is found that the coal supply needed to drive an electric train is only two-thirds of that required for a steam-train of similar capacity. Furthermore, low-grade coal, which could not be used economically in a steam-locomotive, serves quite well in the charging-station. The electric train is cheaper than a steam-train, the noise is less, and it is easier to manipulate. Nevertheless, it has one great drawback, which has militated against its more general use. After a run of between 60 and 90 miles the battery requires re-charging. This necessitates the maintenance of battery stations 60 miles apart and a delay at each of these stations in order to replace the battery. The difficulty is only partly overcome by attaching extra battery-trailers to the train.

In this respect the position is completely altered by the new invention. An electric locomotive equipped with Almeida accumulators can travel from 500 to upwards of 600 miles without re-charging. Thus the range of an electric train will be five or six times as great as under the old system.

It does not require much imagination to foresee what consequences this entails. Given the many advantages of electric railways, it is only a question of time until electricity shall have supplanted steam on the railways of the world. A practical illustration will be of interest. The Paris-Orleans Railway recently commenced the electrification of its lines. When the directors

[1] For information on the use of accumulators in Germany the writer is much indebted to a series of monographs by Dr. H. Beckmann, published by the Akkumulatoren-Fabrik Aktiengesellschaft of Berlin and Hagen (Westphalia).

heard of the new invention operations were immediately suspended, and the shareholders were informed at their next meeting that the management had done this in the hope of being able to carry out a much superior plan.

The War Departments of various countries will be interested from a strategic point of view. For example, up to the present the French Government has not dared to electrify railways in the north and east of France; an enemy in time of war could so easily, by destroying the power-stations or cutting the wires at certain points, completely paralyse communications along the whole front. The new locomotive will be as independent as a steam-engine.

We are also at the dawn of a new era in road transport. Lorries, buses, private cars, electrically driven by Almeida batteries, will be more economical and more convenient than petrol-motors. Electric cars have been in use for many years, particularly in the United States and Germany, but their number has been restricted owing to two very serious drawbacks, their limited range and their low speed. After a run of from 60 to 75 miles the battery requires re-charging. Owing to the weight of the accumulators only a limited power is available, so that the speed attainable is much less than in the case of a petrol-motor. The fact that the accumulators cannot stand the passage of a large current gives rise to a further disadvantage: the motor can be started only gradually, as the initial current in the case of a quicker start would be very great. In fact it is sometimes impossible to start the car up a fairly steep gradient.

A car run on Almeida accumulators will have none of these disadvantages. A touring car similar to a light Citröen or Renault could travel from 500 to 600 miles without recharging. Owing to the light weight of the accumulators much higher powers can be employed, and the speed of a petrol-car attained. As already stated, the accumulator will not suffer from the passage of a large current, so that the starting difficulty is obviated.

Owing to the many advantages these electromobiles will have, it seems clear that they will eventually oust the petrol-driven motor from public favour. These advantages may be briefly summarised. Countries that have no oil-fields of their own will no longer be dependent on foreign supplies of petrol. Where sufficient water-power is available there will be an enormous reduction in the annual expenditure. In other countries coal can to a greater or less extent replace petrol as a source of energy, and, as already noted, even low-grade coal can be profitably

exploited. Especially in time of war will this point be of great importance.

Car construction will be greatly simplified. Each of the driving wheels will have a separate electric motor, so that the differential will no longer be necessary. The gear-box will disappear (speed will be regulated simply by altering the current), as will the radiator, special lighting apparatus, and those perpetual sources of trouble, the magneto and carburettor. The electric motor is stronger and less troublesome than the internal combustion engine. The car can be operated with much greater ease. Driving will be more comfortable owing to the absence of vibration, smell and smoke, and the diminution of noise. The car will be lighter than a petrol-car of equal power.

A point of importance to the car-user will be the diminished expenditure. Of course no figures are yet available as to prices, and it will no doubt be some time before car manufacturers have adjusted their plant to suit the new requirements, but from the facts given above it would appear that the initial cost of a car of given power should be considerably reduced. The reduction in running costs will depend both on the current price of petrol and on the cost of the fuel used in the charging stations, as well as on a number of other factors. For Spain at the present time Fr. Almeida estimates that the energy costs, according to the variation in the cost of charging, for one of the new cars will be from one-sixth to one-twenty-fifth of those for a petrol-car of the same power.

As regards sea-transport, one effect will clearly be an increase in the efficiency of the submarine. A submarine, when submerged, is driven by accumulators, and can travel only a limited distance under water and at a comparatively low speed. With the new accumulators of much greater capacity, the submarine will be able to travel much further under water and just as fast as when at the surface. It would be interesting to speculate on what might have happened in the world-war had this invention been ready a dozen years earlier.

In general, electricity as motive-power for ships has not been developed to the same extent as for trains and automobiles. Electric ferryboats and such like small craft have been operating successfully in Germany for some years past, and the new accumulators will lend themselves to applications in this direction.

From what has already been said one may form an idea of the great benefits that may be anticipated for this country: a greatly increased field of activity for the Shannon scheme, more

efficient and cheaper railways, improved road-transport, and the saving to the country of the greater part of the millions of pounds that we export annually for the purchase of coal and petrol. The process of electrifying the railways should be considerably simplified; as there will be no need for a wired electric system, it will be possible to effect a gradual transition from steam to electricity, electric locomotives replacing steam-engines as they are manufactured. Our main industry, agriculture, will be greatly benefited by the introduction of cheaper mechanical traction for ploughing, etc. It would seem that the Shannon scheme has been started at just the right moment.

It will be asked what steps have been taken towards the commercial production of the Almeida accumulator. Fr. Almeida took his invention first to Germany. In November, 1925, he called at the Berlin offices of the Akkumulatoren Fabrik Company, but met with a very cold reception; the authorities did not believe that a Spaniard, and a priest, could possibly have discovered anything of value. However, Fr. Almeida left with them some notes of his invention, and when he called again next day he found the situation changed. The directors expressed themselves as extremely interested, and invited Fr. Almeida to conduct a series of experiments, the firm to pay all expenses. A special laboratory was constructed, and the experiments were successfully carried out. However, no agreement was come to with the German firm, and Fr. Almeida went on to Paris, where further experiments were made in the laboratories of the great armament firm of Schneider. This led finally to the formation of the International Almeida Accumulator Company, with rights for all countries except France and Spain; the President of the Company is Count de Mieres. Concessions for France have been granted to the Schneider Co. Subsidiary to the International Company are Almeida Accumulators Ltd. (London) for the British Empire (except Canada), and separate companies for the U.S.A. and Canada. The headquarters of the International Company are in London. It is expected that the accumulators will be on the market early next year.

One of the leading accumulator experts in England was requested by those interested in the International Almeida Company to carry out some final tests in the Paris laboratory. He had spent his life in the study of accumulators, and when he heard the claims made for the new invention he was at first sceptical. However, as the tests proceeded and he saw that these claims were fully warranted by the facts, he exclaimed enthusias-

tically: "This is a dream that I never imagined would become a reality. It is a revolution." D. O'CONNELL.

COMMENT ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

BY THOMAS MCLAUGHLIN, M.SC., B.E., PH.D.
Managing Director of the Shannon Electricity Board.

IF the claims made for the Almeida Accumulator are justified, there can be no question but that it opens up a new era for electric traction. The engineering world will await with great interest actual figures as to performance and cost. On such figures only can definite assertions be made as to the importance and effect of the discovery.

As far as motor cars and motor lorries are concerned, electricity to-day holds its own to a fair extent even with the accumulators on the market. The main obstacles to popularizing the electric-driven motor car would seem to be overcome by this new discovery. With an accumulator on the market stronger, cheaper and of much greater electrical capacity for the same bulk and weight than the lead accumulator, the electric-driven motor car should become a very serious rival to the petrol-driven car.

Such an accumulator should make the electrification of the Irish railways an economic proposition; but here again no definite statements can be made until actual figures as to performance and cost of the accumulator are available. The obstacle to Irish railway electrification has been the absence of such an accumulator from the market and the fact that the traffic on our railways is not sufficient to justify the huge capital expenditure on overhead lines and converting or transformer stations along the lines—save in the case of some small portions of the railways where traffic is comparatively dense. On a steam railway the capital to be invested remains practically proportional to the traffic; this also would hold with electric accumulator driven trains, so that the possibility of electrifying railways poor in traffic depends on the discovery of a suitable accumulator. If the Almeida accumulator is all that it is claimed to be, then the electrification of our railways becomes an economic proposition. The Shannon power plant can provide large quantities of night current at a very low figure. The new accumulator will give us the possibility of using this current for all our traction purposes.

T. MCLAUGHLIN.

CHRONICLE

The "Opera Cardinal Ferrari" of Milan

BY THOMAS F. RYAN, S.J., M.A.

In the southern part of the city of Milan, just beyond the inner canal which was the moat of the mediaeval town, there is a massive block of buildings in whose architecture gaiety seems to have struggled with dignity, and conquered. It attracts attention by its contrast with the ancient houses of the neighbourhood; for it is quite new, and the builders are still adding to it. Ask any passer-by what it is and he will answer: "L'Opera Cardinal Ferrari." He will offer no further explanation, for to a Milanese it is as familiar as the world-famed cathedral. Enter, you will be courteously received and readily shown through.

A word of explanation will be given first. It is a work of "Social Assistance," not charity in the narrow sense of the word, and it includes, or will eventually include, everything that can tend to improve the condition of the needy ones of the city. The buildings are new and spotless, brightly-painted and full of light. You will be shown schools for young and old, where day and evening classes are held, with special classes for the unemployed, then dining halls for workmen and the workless, hostels for students and for workers, an employment exchange, a secretariate for the poor, a medical clinic, a huge printing press. Music is heard, you will be shown the chapel and a large church in the course of construction. It is a bewildering hive of activity, and seven years ago nothing of it existed. The men and women whom you see sitting at desks, teaching class, or directing operations in the various departments are, many of them, religious; but there is nothing in their dress to distinguish them from lay people. Their Congregation is as new as the work they control; they belong to the Congregation of St. Paul. When you are told that this is only one of more or less similar social centres which exist in Rome, Bologna, Venice, Paris and Jerusalem, and that others are being planned, you feel instinctively that there must be a remarkable story behind this work.

The great changes that have marked the last few years in Italy tend to make us forget the terrible years of disillusion that followed the war, when Bolshevism had its grip on the country and the whole social order seemed on the verge of collapse. In Milan the situation was at its worst. It was a great industrial centre, and here the propagandists were most active. If a crash came, ruin would be here most complete, and it seemed that

nothing could avert it. To one who looked on them with the eyes of a spiritual pastor things were even worse, for materialism seemed to have triumphed; the physical want and suffering of the poor were relieved by no comforting thought of God and His mercy. It was this aspect that weighed most on the venerable Archbishop, Cardinal Ferrari, and he determined to do something to remedy the evil.

When, twenty-five years before, he had taken possession of the See of Milan, he had formed two ambitions, to found a Catholic University and to establish a central institute for the social welfare of the poor. The University was now an accomplished fact, and during all the active years that intervened, while he founded a multitude of social activities, the idea of uniting them in one place and handing them over to a special association formed for that purpose was continually developing in his mind. Now was the time for its accomplishment. It was the spring of 1920. The most pressing need suggested the way in which it should be begun. The saddest feature of the unhappy situation, as it appeared to the Cardinal, was that those who suffered most were the young people from the country, who had crowded into the city seeking work in the factories. They came as strangers; they found no one to help them, no one to give them employment; and so they frequently sank lower and lower, becoming corrupted in faith and morals. Something must be done to prevent a continuance of this tragedy, this wastage; some sort of institution must be founded—a "People's Home" where their spiritual and temporal wants could be catered for.

But there was no capital with which to begin. The Cardinal had nothing, for whatever he had he always gave away. But it was his jubilee year, and the people presented him with 300,000 lire, which he immediately put aside for the work. Yet it was not enough. The Cardinal envisaged a great undertaking which would be hampered if it had not room to expand, and no building that seemed adequate could be purchased or built for this amount. He discussed the details of his project with his secretary, Don Giovanni Rossi, whom in his own mind he had already designated as its director, and with other friends. To them he imparted some of his own enthusiasm, and they set out to find the necessary money. Already the Cardinal was stricken with an illness that he knew would prove fatal. The news of this illness had spread, and it came as a shock to the people of the diocese, who worshipped him. Veneration for him and a desire to express their affection by accomplishing this his last wish stirred their generosity, and

within a few months the sum of a million and a half lire was collected. The site was found, a large area consisting of a few decrepit buildings and extensive gardens. It was purchased, and in November, 1920, the Cardinal went to visit and to bless it. It was the last time that he was seen in the streets of Milan.

In the meantime Cardinal Ferrari had come to another important decision. The success of this new undertaking would depend on the zeal and energy of those who directed it. There would be numerous activities of great variety, some strictly spiritual which called for priests, others which would need men and women of education and experience. All who engaged in it would have to be actuated by a zeal which would make them forgetful of all personal interests. A religious body of some kind seemed a necessity, but none that existed had a scope sufficiently wide to undertake all that he desired. Consequently he determined to found a new one, giving it provisional approval for his own diocese. He outlined its constitutions and gave to his secretary the task of drawing them up in regular form. On his deathbed he was able to give them his final approval, and on December 8, 1920, he blessed the first three members of the "Community of St. Paul."

This new Society was to embrace priests and lay people of both sexes. They would take annual vows and devote themselves to social works of all kinds under the guidance of their superior. The priests would dress as secular priests, and the others as ordinary lay people. They were to retain close contact with the world and use every means that modern ingenuity could suggest for the benefit of those whom they hoped to assist. To these would be entrusted the direction of all the works that would arise in connection with the "People's Home," but they were to be assisted by a permanent committee of laymen. This committee met for the first time towards the end of January, 1921. Nine days later, on February 2nd, while the Church was singing the canticle "Nunc Dimittis," Cardinal Ferrari died.

His successor, Cardinal Ratti, took up the work. He inaugurated the new building and laid the foundation stone of another block on the same day in which he entered the city. He saw the various departments, hostels, dining-halls, schools, opening one by one, and when a few months later he was elected Pope, he took the "Opera Cardinal Ferrari" under his special protection. The new name had already replaced the old one, and soon the name of the "Community of St. Paul" was to be changed to that of "Congregation of St. Paul" when, at the special instance

of the Pope, it was, from being a purely local institution, formed into a regular religious Congregation. The lay members were already known as "Paolini" and "Paoline," and these names have remained.

It would take too long to describe the rapid development that has since taken place. The most that can be done is to outline briefly the various forms of activity that are now in existence and to see something of the spirit that vivifies them. They can be considered under three heads :—

(1) Direct Social Assistance,
(2) Education,
(3) Press activity.

As has been said, the institution was never intended to be one of mere almsgiving. It aims at helping those who are struggling to become better workmen, better citizens, better Christians. It provides, in the first place, for those workers whose wages are small and who find the struggle hard in various ways. For them it has a popular restaurant where good food can be had at cheap rates—a substantial mid-day meal, for instance, costing about eight pence. In addition to that which is at the headquarters of the "Opera," other restaurants have been opened in various parts of the city, many of them in connection with the large factories, such as Pirelli, Brill, Carlo Erba, etc. They are attended daily by over six thousand persons. Lodging is also provided by the hostels, which are equipped with reading and recreation rooms. Night classes are available for those who wish to supplement an incomplete education or make themselves better fitted for their special work. There is access to baths and gymnasium ; there is a medical clinic which is now complete in all its sections, including dispensary, surgery and X-ray department. In addition, there is the secretariate for the poor and the legal bureau for free advice when it is needed, and a people's bank to encourage thrift.

Next, social assistance is extended to those who are looking for employment. For them there is maintained a labour exchange which, on account of its efficiency in classifying the applicants and preparing them (when necessary) for special classes of work, has won the co-operation of many of the chief factories and recognition by the government. During 1926 some 6,000 persons secured employment through it. A special department supplies applicants for work with clothes when they need them. For the unemployed there are free courses of study.

It must be taken into account that a great many unemployed

are either unfit for work or unwilling to engage in it. These comprise men who have been in asylums and hospitals, ex-convicts, professional beggars—social shipwrecks who form the undercurrent of every large city population. These, too, are provided for. Every Saturday there is a cinema performance for them, and on Sunday mornings there is Mass followed by a meal. It is realised that many of these emotional people of the South can be touched easily by kindness, and that when they feel that they are being treated with confidence and respect they will be encouraged to make a fresh effort. The Sunday Mass is one of the most remarkable sights of the week. Men and women come to it by hundreds. They were suspicious at first, and thought that they were being spied on, but gradually they were caught by the spirit of the "Opera." The ceremonies are conducted with every possible solemnity, and the sound of old familiar hymns awakes recollections. Few Italians are insensible to the appeal of music, and now these "down and outs" join lustily in the singing at Mass. There is a short, encouraging sermon, always delivered by the Superior, Don Giovanni Rossi, and after that there is breakfast.

The results that have been achieved by this simple kindness are most encouraging. Many whose case seemed hopeless have become honest workers, amongst them numerous ex-convicts, and the percentage of those who have relapsed into their former state is very small. Special care is given to the young country people who have been engulfed by the city's underworld, and of these a large proportion has been reclaimed. More is done than to open the doors and let the outcasts enter in. They are sought out in the prisons, the hospitals and the worst slums. The name given to them is suggestive of the attitude that is adopted towards them. They are called the *Carissimi*, "the dear ones." A special building for them is being erected, and there they will be housed and fed. It is to be a sort of spiritual convalescent home, and since such excellent results have been obtained by less perfect means, great hopes are centered in it. Every year since 1922 a Christmas dinner is given to tens of thousands of the poor of the city.

Education did not form part of the original scheme. Yet, so obvious was its need, it was one of the first works to be undertaken, and its development has been extraordinary. Over five thousand attend the classes in Milan alone. The schools are divided into six departments: secondary schools for boys and girls; a commercial institute; male and female professional schools; and an academy of music.

The secondary schools, which are models of their kind, and enjoy high government approval, have, in addition to the ordinary curriculum, supplementary courses, chiefly in commerce and business training, with day and evening classes. There are also intensive courses, lasting a few months and directed by special "grinders." The Commercial Institute is intended for those employed in commerce, business and all branches of industry, who wish to improve themselves and become more proficient in their trade or profession. The courses are followed solely in evening classes. The "Professional" schools are simply technical schools that instruct the worker in every class of industry. There are about fifty departments in all, each having its work-room with full equipment. Special attention is devoted to electricity, mechanics and applied art. Since it is the poor who are being catered for, fees are very low. Thus, for instance, a four years' course of forty hours a week in engineering or electro-technology costs less than £5 a year. The female classes include domestic economy, housekeeping and every practical form of housecraft. The Musical Academy, under the direction of Maestro Marziano Perosi, has already acquired the reputation of being one of the best in Italy. It has a special department for training teachers.

All the courses include religious instruction; but, apart from this, the personal interest taken in those attending the classes and the encouragement and assistance that they receive are the chief sources of the good influence that is exercised. The students have the use of a fine library, the nucleus of which was the private library of Cardinal Ferrari. Each year there are also several series of public lectures on various cultural subjects. A course of study in Social Science has recently been added. This is obviously of special value, as it is directed by men who have every opportunity of observing closely the various social problems and testing the value of the different attempts to solve them. Law students attend this course in large numbers.

Mention has already been made of the hostels. In these the interests of students are specially catered for. At varying prices places in dormitories, the use of special study halls, rooms for three or more, and private rooms are provided. The social side of life in these hostels is not neglected, and a remarkable family spirit has resulted.

Two other phases of the work bearing on education call for notice, the recreation rooms for children, including a kindergarten, and the "circles" for boys and girls. These latter include a Boy Scouts corps, gymnastic groups for boys and girls, clubs and sodalities. Here it is convenient, too, to mention the Summer

camps and holiday centres, tours, excursions and pilgrimages that are organised. These are managed with the same thoroughness that characterises all the other activities. Let it suffice to say that holidays are arranged at the lowest possible rates for every class, from infants to old people, from May to October in ten different places, and that a Travel Bureau with offices in twenty different cities arranges everything for every kind of economical travel from a day's excursion to the country to a three weeks' pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

It is inevitable that the "Opera" should have a publishing department. It possesses a printing-press of the most modern kind, and in Milan alone it issues several periodicals. Among these are: *La Festa*, a weekly illustrated review which compares favourably with anything of its kind published to-day (its literary editor is Giovanni Papini, author of the famous "Life of Christ"); *Il Carroccio*, a fortnightly review of the intellectual and social questions of the day; *La Fiorita*, a fortnightly paper for women; *L'Alba*, a weekly paper for girls; *Il Corrierino*, a weekly children's paper; and *Il Piccolo*, a weekly official bulletin of the "Opera." In addition, it has taken over the direction and printing of one of the leading Catholic daily papers in Italy, *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, and of the Vatican organ, *L'Osservatore Romano*. Book publishing has only recently been undertaken. A cheap edition of the Gospels was the first publication.

The Congregation of St. Paul, which directs all these vast undertakings, has now about one hundred members. The superior-general, who must always be a priest, is chosen for life, and is assisted by a council of fifteen—five members being chosen from each of the three classes that it comprises. Its work is highly centralised, for the various branches which have sprung from the parent home are autonomous neither in management nor in fiscal administration. Each priest must be a doctor in one of the sacred sciences or have a university degree. The other members must either have a degree or be ready to study for it. Their rules bind the members not to isolate themselves from the world, but to study all its problems and aim at possessing the highest culture. The nature of their work demands untiring labour and self-sacrifice, and its guiding motive is apostolic zeal. The male and female members live and work quite separately.

To assist the members of the Congregation in carrying out the activities of the "Opera" various groups of helpers have been organised. Conspicuous among them are the "Little Mothers of the Poor," who work chiefly in the Secretariate and in the

various departments that help the " Carissimi " ; the *Cateriniani*, whose function is to spread the various publications ; the voluntary lady workers who assist the *Paoline* in the restaurants, and, most numerous of all, the members of the " Cardinal Ferrari Association," who contribute varying sums of money to help the work. These are divided into different classes, from ordinary members who subscribe ten lire a year to " founders " who give a thousand lire. The Association holds an annual congress. At the last congress the members bound themselves unanimously to contribute ten million lire within the next ten years. It is chiefly by the activities of this Association that the enormous sums necessary to carry on the work have been raised.

This account of the " Opera Cardinal Ferrari " is by no means complete. Not even all the activities of the Milan centre have been enumerated. I have not been able to touch on the Bureau of Information, the plans with regard to the new theatre that is being erected and the sports field that is being laid out, the schools and libraries organised in connection with the various big factories, the social centres in other cities, and the numerous schools scattered throughout Lombardy. Enough, however, has been said to show that the great social problems of a modern city have been tackled in a way that must attract the attention of the rest of the world, and a new religious Congregation has been founded that marks another step in the progressive development of religious life in the Church. One feels inclined to wonder how much of the organising genius of Don Giovanni Rossi is humbly hidden under the mantle of Cardinal Ferrari, but there can be no doubt but that the inspiration, of details as well as of the general plan, was that of the great Cardinal. Hardly one of the activities of the " Opera " was not already begun by him, in more modest form, during his episcopate, and it needed his courage and optimism to undertake the mighty task. He was a young man of forty-four, only three years a Bishop and already a Cardinal, when he entered Milan as Archbishop, but already so great was his name that the people, recalling the memory of his great predecessor, St. Charles Borromeo, met him in the streets, shouting, " St. Charles has come back." To them that day he promised, in the words of St. Paul, " I will spend myself for you." He kept that promise nobly, and in the work that bears his name his spirit still lives. It is a spirit too ardent to be confined within the limits of a single city, and, if we can judge by the progress of the past few years, it will not be long until its breath is felt in cities scattered over the whole world.

THOMAS F. RYAN.

REVIEWS

Biography

LIFE AND TEACHING OF ST. BERNARD. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O. Cist. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1927. 21s. net.

At Dijon, last June, the Burgundian Association of Learned Societies held a Congress, the chief business of which was to give a review of Bernardine Studies. So many scholars from religious orders and from universities, Continental, English and American, attended that it was practically an international affair. The list of papers read at the sessions in the university is too long to be quoted here; but a glance at it helps one to realise what the career of St. Bernard meant.

There is probably no other man who could be called the greatest figure of the middle ages without arousing less dissent. There have been minds more intense, more profound—St. Thomas, St. Francis of Assisi, Dante—but these were less comprehensive. No one can be named who touched that great epoch so widely and influenced it so profoundly, and no man has ever summed up in himself, in such a degree, all the noblest qualities of a momentous period.

The life of St. Bernard is really a history of the first half of the twelfth century. In all the great movements—political, ecclesiastical, secular, intellectual—he took a great, often a decisive, part. He met all the famous and infamous figures of the time, Popes, emperors, saints, heretics, crusaders, reformers and dominated them all. He was the strongest influence in several Church Councils, he was the greatest reformer of abuses; he was the chief recruiter of a crusade; he was the correspondent of all the men of note of his time. His genius is dazzling in its variety and profundity. He seems to reconcile the most opposing tendencies: he is monk, statesman, publicist, preacher, mystic, saint, writer. He is the last of the Fathers; he is among the first of the Scholastics. He occupies a great space in the history of Christian asceticism. He was an orator of marvellous copiousness and great sweetness. Finally, he was a saint and contemplative. It is scarcely possible to name another historical figure who has so many claims to greatness.

Biographies of such an extraordinary man will always be written and read. A career so vast can always be viewed from some new direction. Of course St. Bernard has been much written about in English; but there are not many biographies of merit. The best-known is that of Cotter Morison, a brilliant

study of the period, marked by great sympathy for St. Bernard, but vitiated by anti-Catholic bias.

A Catholic writer at least has no apologies to make for a new life of St. Bernard. Fr. Ailbe has written the fullest life in English, and his work will long remain the standard life for Catholics. It is not merely a biography; it is also a study of St. Bernard's teaching. This design has the merit of presenting his subject in greater fulness, of giving the history of his mind and of bringing into prominence these things which are of most consequence to later generations, the saint's ideas and doctrine. But such a method of biography has the almost inevitable disadvantage of lessing the historical interest. The whole movement of the career is often held up while the author analyses some treatise or letter. The treatise *De Consideratione*, written by St. Bernard for his former disciple Pope Eugenius, is a classic of Christian ascetic literature; but an analysis of it running to fifty pages is excessive in a biography. And letters and treatises of much less value than *De Consideratione* are noted at relatively greater length.

No doubt the life of a man who was at once a teacher and an actor presents this difficulty, and Fr. Ailbe has effectively seen to it that the teacher is not lost sight of. This seems to us a fault of method, and it accounts partly for the lack of historical background which one notices. And as we are speaking of faults perhaps we might suggest that certain rather naïve vivacities of style, such as the apostrophe to William of Champeaux on p. 73 and that to Hugh of Payens on p. 177, might be omitted without any loss in future editions. Nor is it easy to see what value, historical or artistic, there is in the illustrations on pp. 68 and 222.

These are slight faults of method or design which do not seriously affect the worth of the work. Fr. Ailbe is to be congratulated on his book. He has made a study of what is the chief material for St. Bernard's life, his letters and works. He has brought to his task a glowing enthusiasm for his subject. He has risen to the height of his great argument. It was fitting that the first full-length Catholic biography of St. Bernard should come from one of his own sons. Fr. Ailbe's book is at once a monument of Cistercian learning and of Cistercian filial love. H. K.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION. Vol. I.—Early Life and Religious Development to 1517. By James Mackinnon, M.A., Ph.D., D.D. London: Longmans. 1925. 16s.

THE fourth centenary of Luther's break with Rome was celebrated in Germany just after the war, and a flood of Lutherana—Catholic

as well as Protestant, mostly polemical, but much of it valuable material for historical criticism—was then poured forth. Dr. Mackinnon, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh, has made a new and careful study of Luther's life and work in the light of all this modern research. His first volume is of special importance owing to the discovery, between 1885 and 1908, of the manuscript notes from which Luther gave his first lectures on the Psalms at Wittenberg (1513-15), on Romans (1515-16), on Galatians (1516), and on Hebrews (1517). We can now follow more or less clearly the genesis of Luther's characteristic religious doctrines, beginning with the Nominalist system of Occam and Biel, which he learnt as a monk at Erfurt, and ending with his fully developed theory of justification by faith alone.

Dr. Mackinnon's work is a sound piece of historical research, though we constantly feel the effort he has made to enter into a world of unfamiliar notions: to quote his own confession, made in the preface, "he could hardly help feeling at times not quite at home in this labyrinth of scholastic and monastic ideas." The chief value of his work lies in this honest effort to grapple with an antiquated system of thought—for Lutheranism is antiquated, even more than Nominalism. On the whole Dr. Mackinnon, who follows Seeberg and Loofs as his guides, has given a clear and reliable account of the doctrines which Luther learnt at school and in his monastery of Erfurt. Protestant convictions are apparent in every page of his book, but the work has been done, honestly and thoroughly. Catholic readers will find Father Grisar's volumes a safer guide, but Dr. Mackinnon's work is clearer and more readable. Those who are interested in the history of education will find useful material in the quotations from the *Tischreden*, in which Luther airs his views on schools and schoolmasters, on Aristotle and Cicero, on Reuchlin and Erasmus.

But Luther's apostasy was not a mere logical process of intellectual development—and it is here that Dr. Mackinnon fails as a guide. Denifle's passionate indictment of Luther and Lutheranism, though its influence is apparent in the whole scheme of this book, has thrown Protestant biographers back on the defensive; and Dr. Mackinnon plainly dislikes Father Grisar's more reasoned condemnation. But his own explanation of Luther's tragic psychology is far from convincing. This Scotch divine, with all his striving for impartiality, has found it too hard a task to understand the Catholic period of Luther's life. For Luther once was a pious Catholic schoolboy, though his home was unhappy and

his schoolmasters tyrannical; as an older student he came for a time under the influence of the Brethren of Common Life, then the leaders of true Catholic reform in Germany and the Netherlands; and once he had entered, at the age of twenty-two, the Augustinian monastery of Erfurt, he was in turn a fervent novice, an observant monk, a young priest filled with awe at the first celebration of Holy Mass. All this is plain from his own confessions, but Dr. Mackinnon finds it hard to understand.

A few examples must suffice. Luther's own story of the panic fear which seized him when he came near the moment of consecration at his first Mass is here set down as doubtful because of some minor inconsistencies in Luther's many tellings of the tragic story—and one at least of these seeming inconsistencies would vanish if Dr. Mackinnon knew the functions of an assistant priest. Again, there is the question of Luther's vocation: was it a genuine call, or a sudden impulse due to the physical fright caused by a thunderstorm? Surely neither explanation excludes the other, for Luther may well have been hesitating for months beforehand. And as for the binding force of the vow which Luther took in that moment of fear, Dr. Mackinnon is sadly astray in his theology. Whether that vow were or were not a true vow, it has nothing to do with the three solemn vows which Luther took after his year's noviceship. That was the deciding moment, when there was no question of physical fear.

On the other hand, some venerable Protestant traditions are here dismissed with a few words. Luther's noviceship was plainly the ordinary year's training of a young religious, not the series of petty persecutions which legend has created: to the end of his life Luther had grateful memories of his novice-master. And Luther as monk was not only free to read his Bible, but was bound by his rule to be a zealous student of Holy Scripture. In his later years Luther used to describe the Bible which he was given at Erfurt—a large volume, bound in red leather: would that he had been as humble as he was zealous in his study of its pages!

But these are minor details: the real crux is the history of Luther's soul. What caused so terrible a fall? God alone can answer as judge; but Luther's own confessions are on record, and must not be neglected. Dr. Mackinnon writes with sympathy, and for that reason understands much that is obscure: his chapter on Luther's "martyrdom" during his years at Erfurt is finely worked out, and is certainly nearer the truth than Denifle's violent attacks. But has he not minimised the terrible significance of Luther's own confession that the struggle with "the law of

sin in his members" was during these years desperate? And the same minimising tendency is certainly at work in his account of Luther's visit to Rome. Those who gave this young monk, so terribly emotional and impressionable, the scandal which he took there have a heavy load to bear; but his own plain statement of the result must not be overlooked. He went to Rome an observant friar, so meticulous in his saying of Holy Mass that he was thought a nuisance by the laxer Romans; during his stay there he grew more and more careless, seldom saying Mass at all; and when he came back to Erfurt, he who had been one of the leaders of the stricter observantine movement went over for good to the camp of the laxer conventuals. That is a record which tells its own tale.

Finally, there is the question of "the great illumination"—that sudden light as to the meaning of Romans i. 16-17, combined with the personal assurance of salvation, which came to him in the tower at Wittenberg. Of the grosser details which, as Father Grisar maintains, are implied in Luther's own narrative of the episode, Dr. Mackinnon says nothing; we may leave these unpleasant matters to German specialists. But the date is important. Dr. Mackinnon, differing from most Protestant critics who put it in or about 1509, and from Father Grisar, who puts it as late as 1519, fixes on 1512 as the most probable date. That is certainly the date which best fits in with Luther's intellectual development as shown in his early Lectures. But Luther's memory was as troubled as his judgment, and it is hard to be sure. One thing is certain: these sudden, violent, impulsive, self-willed decisions which mark the principal stages of Luther's early religious development are not the ways of God. A. G.

THE FATHER OF THE CHURCH IN TENNESSEE: Rt. Rev. Richard Pius Miles, O.P., the First Bishop of Nashville. By V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M., Litt.D. Washington: The Dominicana. New York: Pustet. 1926. Pp. xiv., 607. $4 net.

THE outstanding merit of this elaborate and fully-documented biography is the fact that it systematises the story of the Catholic development of a frontier region in the early history of the expansion of the United States. The easy swing of this narrative of a pioneer life (1791-1860) carries with it an immense mass of facts and dates that must have cost countless toil in the assembling. Dr. O'Daniel's power as an exponent of early Catholic action in Tennessee and in Kentucky makes his record

of the life of Bishop Miles a most effective counterpart to all that is read, in fiction and in exploration, of the events that took place beyond the Colonial frontier, on the " dark and bloody ground " of the Middle West. His work on the life of Dr. Miles is in effect a Catholic History of a large but definite region, done with all thoroughness and care. A conspicuous example of his method is to be seen in his exhaustive chapter on family names and place names (pp. 477-507). It can be commended as a working model to the historian of any Catholic town in Ireland : as indeed can the whole of this work, as a source of inspiration and as an example of how the local Catholic history can be adequately planned.

To many readers the references, in this history of a frontier bishopric, to schools and colleges and academic work generally will be of particular value. Bishop Miles was given in 1837 an undeveloped diocese, without " a church or a clergyman, or any means to procure either " (p. 252). He spent his twenty-three years of episcopal action in giving effect to " the principle that a full Catholic school meant full pews " (p. 517) ; and the record of the policy of " church and school everywhere," which Dr. O'Daniel supplies, is very complete. The story of the fortunes of the Dominican Nuns as educators in Kentucky and in Tennessee is worthily told. Even more valuable as a specimen of historical reconstruction is the record of the Dominican College of Saint Thomas in Springfield, Kentucky (1807-1828), well illustrated and frankly recorded. It did great and enduring service in the score of years during which it was in operation : it was closed by Father Raphael Munos, sometime Confessor to the Royal Family in Spain, who " did not believe that the work of secular education fell within the limits of the vocation of a Friar Preacher " (p. 205). Father O'Daniel explains and defends the monitorial system adopted in those early years (pp. 117-118). There is no need to apologise for it, in deference to " modern educators." When used as an aid, by real teachers, it gives a splendid return. T. C.

CHURCH HISTORIANS. With Foreword and Index by Peter Guilday, Ph.D. New York : P. J. Kenedy. 1926. $2.75.

IMPORTANT in the curriculum of ecclesiastical studies as is the science of Church history, it must be admitted that Catholic workers in that field, within the English-speaking world, are lamentably few. So much the more is credit due to Dr. Guilday,

of the Catholic University of America, who, by precept and example, has done more than any other man to further this great branch of higher learning in the schools and seminaries of his country. Under his able editorship the present volume has been produced. A useful book in itself, it has perhaps greater value as an earnest of similar work from the United States when the Church there has been fully organised, when missionary labours no longer absorb—and even devour—the time and energies of its clergy.

Fourteen critical biographies of prominent ecclesiastical historians are collected in the book. Pride of place is necessarily accorded to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, fittingly known as the "Father of Church history." Quite an interesting account is given of the life and writings of this remarkable man, whose fame rests wholly on his history, for his theology is Arianism, slightly diluted, his exegesis Alexandrian allegorism, his politics a facile opportunism, further debased by sycophancy and intrigue. As to his origin there is no reason why Zahn's conclusions (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1918, pp. 59-82) should be rejected. We may, then, take it as certain that he was born in Palestine and that his parents were slaves.

A very different character is the Spanish priest, Orosius, St. Augustine's disciple and friend, who answered the cry that Christianity was bringing the Empire to disaster by pointing out that all had not been beer and skittles for the Quirites of the Seven Hills since the day when they first entered on their career of martial glory. His history made gloomy reading, but it was popular in the early Middle Ages, when for teacher and pupil alike the choice of books was extremely limited.

In an excellent chapter on Bede, perhaps the most charming in the volume, the writer shows great delicacy in his handling of the thorny Easter question. Nowhere is the narrow monastic horizon of both Bede and his opponents more manifest than in this controversy. That they are treated with such understanding and sympathy reflects the highest credit on the author.

Ordericus Vitalis, the 12th century Norman historiographer and monk, well deserves a place among these studies. No less deserving is Las Casas, the fiery defender of native Indian rights against a not over scrupulous Spanish officialdom. Baronius, Bollandus, Muratori and Lingard are distinguished names in educated Catholic circles, but knowledge of their achievements may be circumscribed. An effective remedy is now at hand in these short and trustworthy biographies. Moehler, that erratic genius whose place in Church history is so much disputed, should

be better known to English speaking Catholics. This holds even more of Hergenroether, the great Cardinal, famous at the Vatican Council and after; of Denifle, the iconoclast, who inflicted such injury on the Luther idol as a generation of feverish activity has not succeeded in repairing; of Janssen, the voluminous historian of the German people; and especially of Ludwig von Pastor, whose renown as historian of the Popes is world-wide. Of the last four it may be added that no account of their lives has hitherto appeared in English. J. R.

Classics

AUTOUR DE PLATON. Essais de Critique et d'Histoire. Par A. Diès. 2 vols. Paris: Beauchesne. 1927. 36 fr.

THE author of this work is Honorary Canon of Rennes and a Professor in the Facultés Catholiques de l'Ouest. He is one of a noteworthy group of French scholars who have recently edited the greater part of Plato for the well-known Budé series. His contribution to this work has been the metaphysical dialogues, *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, and *Sophistes*. In the present work he gives us, so to speak, samples from his workshop, and shows himself well worthy of his responsible task as editor for such a series. The work of French scholars such as MM. Robin, Rivaud, Brochard, and the author here under review on Plato, though it has been spread over the last thirty years and covers most aspects of its subject with thoroughly French clearness and finesse, is very little known to readers of English text-books, which tend to rely very much on German systematisers.

M. Diès is far from being a systematiser; on the contrary, he applies a strictly historical method to his subject all through. The two volumes before us consist for the most part of essays contributed by the author to reviews from 1910 to 1923, with the addition of two or three which are new. Many are simply *comptes rendus* of current literature bearing on Plato, while others again are studies in a wider style of various Platonic questions. The arrangement of the two volumes gives a kind of unity to the whole series, which begins in Part I. (*Les Voisinages*) with discussions on Greek science in general, particularly medicine, philosophy, morals, religion, and especially rhetoric, as illustrating or leading up to Socrates and Plato. Part II. is devoted altogether to Socrates, and contains accounts and criticisms of modern theories, notably those of Taylor and Burnet, with sidelights on the views of W. D. Ross, H. von Arnim, Joel, and others. All these accounts are given in such a way as to allow the author's

own personal attitude to develop, and we soon see that he has a consistent, carefully thought out and reasonable view, which rejects the extreme position of A. E. Taylor and agrees rather with Ross's criticisms of it as regards the relative value of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle as sources for our knowledge of Socrates.

In Part III. (*Les Dialogues*) we get a collection of essays centring round Plato's own work, and including reviews of Ritter's great book, with emphasis on *Stylistik*, an account of the MS. tradition, and notes on various points in Platonism, among which is to be remarked a very healthy criticism of J. A. Stewart's work, *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*. In this latter book M. Diès finds too much tendency to read modern systems into Plato, and contrasts with this tendency the true historical method of putting Plato in his own environment. Part IV. (*Esquisses doctrinales*), finally, is the most important part of the work, giving at greater length the author's own views. He discusses very clearly what is his central theme—the "transposition" or transvaluation of old problems and ideas in Plato's work, his use of rhetoric and Orphism, for example, to serve a totally new purpose. Next he gives his account of Plato's notion of science, emphasising its "realism," as against modern upholders of a "*Begriffsphilosophie*." His last two chapters, "Le Dieu de Platon" and "La Religion de Platon," which are published here for the first time, discuss the relations between science and religion in Plato, and his positive regulations on religion in the *Laws*. Here he very interestingly points out the similarity between Plato's doctrine of the priority of Being to Intelligence and modern Thomist views. This is perhaps the capital question which divides ancient and modern post-Cartesian philosophy, and one on which Plato is most persistently misread.

The book will be found very interesting and valuable by all students of Plato or of philosophy, if only for its abundant notices of current literature. It is, however, far from being a mere "Bericht"—it is a clear and consistent exposition of Plato by a Catholic scholar whose standing is beyond question. As such it should be widely read by interested Irishmen. M. T.

THE GREAT WAR BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA. A Companion to the Military History of Thucydides. By Bernard W. Henderson. London: Macmillan. 1927. 18s. net.

THIS book will be welcome to all who like to read history written with colour and personality, and a great boon to students—for

intelligent commentaries on Thucydides are by no means as plentiful as might be expected. It is a narrative of the Peloponnesian War in explanation of the great historian, and deals with all the problems raised by it in a manner at once sensible and illuminating. As those who have read his clever book, *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, are aware, Mr. Henderson has a special taste for military history; and in this book, which is copiously supplied with maps, he gives detailed accounts of many most interesting engagements, notably Phormio's famous naval battles in the Corinthian Gulf, Agis' Napoleonic manoeuvring at Nemea in 418, Demosthenes' Aetolian campaign, and the naval battles that followed on the disaster at Syracuse. On this latter event, while clear and very graphic, he has naturally little new to contribute; on most of the others he not alone sums up the evidence fully, but has helpful suggestions to make himself. Unfortunately it remains true that as these problems all depend on the scanty and uncertain nature of our evidence, no solution of them can be more than a guess; but not often have commentators been so generally sensible with their guesses on Thucydides as is Mr. Henderson. No book could be more useful, for example, to officers anxious to get a clear idea of ancient military history.

On the political side also Mr. Henderson is very sound and clear. His treatment of Pericles, the causes of the war, Cleon, and Nicias is admirable. The causes of the war have given rise to very many foolish speculations, from which he is refreshingly free, and he deals with that much discussed subject, the strategy of Pericles, in a manner which will be welcome to the student who has come across the theories of such doughty scholars as Pflugk-Hartung and Delbrück only in brief summaries. But the part of his work of which he himself is most proud is clearly his treatment of Alcibiades. Here he has made on the whole a successful effort to clear the name of that much-maligned soldier-statesman from the attacks of Grote. His most original contribution is his explanation of Theramenes' activity against the Generals after Arginusae as part of a design to bring back Alcibiades once more—an explanation which he forcibly backs up by quotations from the *Frogs*.

The style of the book is light and easy, and the narrative is illustrated many times by modern parallels—Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, for example, is quoted side by side with the Funeral Oration of Pericles, and modern campaigns are constantly drawn on, very much to the advantage of the narration. There is little

in the book to criticise, but surely *ostraka* were not oyster-shells—at least not the *ostraka* which gave its name to ostracism (p. 332)—and Theramenes is not to be credited, if Aristotle be correct, with the production of the Constitution of the Three Thousand in 403 (p. 485).

The book should take a secure place as one of the most helpful contributions to the study of Ancient History written in English.

M. T.

Fiction

NOS ACTES NOUS SUIVENT. Par Paul Bourget. Paris: Plon. 1927. Two volumes. 24 fr.

Does the "psychological" novelist retain his powers better in old age than the imaginative or the realistic? Sound psychology would incline one to the view that the writer whose stock-in-trade is the volitional and intellectual life of his characters rather than their outward being or material surroundings should suffer less than his fellows from the decline of the bodily powers. Whether this be the explanation of it or not, M. Bourget retains his old craft of depicting the soul-life of both individuals and groups of men in a wonderful degree. It is hard to believe that his latest novel is the work of an octogenarian.

Perhaps the one sign of old age that can be detected is a certain garrulousness of pen that crowds into one novel four or five themes, which at times threaten to escape beyond the author's control and disturb the balance of the tale. Georges Fresnelay, a young and ardent follower of the *Commune*, was famed and hated as the inventor of a dreaded explosive. After the terrible days of '71 he was living hidden in Paris, and one day saw an infuriated crowd on the point of hurling a man into the Seine. A shriek from the wretched victim, "Murderers, I am not Fresnelay," told him that a chance likeness to himself had been the death-warrant of this man. In a moment of indecision he is silent. The supposed Fresnelay is flung over the parapet and done to death with stones. Half of the first volume tells of the desperate efforts of the real Fresnelay to blot this terrible scene out of his life. He flees to America, changes his name to Muller, steeps himself in American traditions and ideals, tries to forget his native tongue, conceals his identity even from his wife and family, but to no avail. Interwoven with this ground-theme there runs a lesser theme, the torturing self-questioning of Fresnelay-Muller on the problems of responsibility and vicarious satisfaction, rendered all the more poignant by the tragic death of his wife and daughter in a railway accident.

The second part of the novel depicts the adventures of Patrick, Georges Muller's only son, in the task of tracing the relatives of Jean Croissy, the victim of his father's fatal silence, and of making to them the reparation his father has enjoined on him. That silence has been fatal to more than the first victim. Jean Croissy's widow, reduced to poverty, has come to Paris, and her only daughter has been betrayed by an officer of noble birth. She dies giving birth to a child, Marie-Jeanne. After twenty years fate brings the son of Georges Fresnelay and the grandchild of his victim across one another's paths. Madame Croissy keeps a small paper-shop, and it becomes by chance the rendezvous of the left wing of the socialist party (we are in France of four years before the war). Marie-Jeanne becomes imbued with their ideals, and hatred of the upper classes is branded into her soul when she learns the tragic secret of her birth. Patrick Muller is an earnest social reformer, and the conflict of ideas between the two lovers, one a builder, the other an apostle of destruction, is skilfully and fairly drawn. The tragic events by which the two are irrevocably separated, and their mutual taking refuge at the feet of a God, guider and arbiter of life, whom both had long rejected, forms yet another section of the story. Through it all is wound a tangled skein of communist striving and plotting, which is in accord with the violent clash of souls that is the main theme.

Patrick's mother was an Irishwoman, and M. Bourget gives us here and there quaint and at times shrewd references to Ireland. Georges Muller, for instance, had thought the correct French abbé of the old school to be the only type of Catholic priest, and was vastly impressed with the "Père O'Connel" who married him in America. Him he found to be also a man of God in spite of "l'incurie de ses vêtements, les pans de sa redingote flottant au vent, la blancheur douteuse de son col, son visage aux grands traits . . . . sa parole impétueuse." Worthy of note too is the characterisation of Patrick towards the close of the book. "Le fils de la pieuse Irlandaise portait en lui cette soif héréditaire de l'infini qui caractérise la race celtique."

M. Bourget has once again given us a novel blending true, not sham, thought with romance and idealism of the loftiest kind. Not very common ingredients for a novel nowadays, and so doubly welcome.

F. McG.

History

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. Vol. II.—*Rome.* By M. Rostovtzeff. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1927. 21s. net.

THIS is the sequel to the volume on *The Orient and Greece* which we reviewed in *Studies* for December, 1926. It is worthy of equal praise, and can be recommended emphatically as a book which all school libraries should possess. It is perhaps at once too costly and too bulky for the ordinary student or general reader, though apart from these serious considerations it is well worth possessing.

Like its predecessor, its chief feature is its wealth of illustrations, all taken from excellent photographs, and covering every age and aspect of Roman life from Etruscan tombs to Christian mosaics. There are in all ninety-six plates, many of them illustrating out-of-the-way objects. The only book that can be compared with it in this respect is the same author's great *Economic History of the Roman Empire.* Especially noteworthy are the frescos and reliefs depicting industrial life and religious ceremonies, which give a fresh and valuable view of Romano-Greek culture. But perhaps the most striking picture of all is that of the bronze handle of a Praenestine cista which serves as frontispiece. It depicts two warriors of the fourth century B.C. carrying between them the dead body of a comrade, and is fittingly labelled by the author "The Roman Tradition."

The personal outlook of the author is even more evident in this book than in the previous one, and on Roman social life, especially, Professor Rostovtzeff speaks as an acknowledged master. The conclusions of his *magnum opus* are here briefly re-stated without the extraordinary apparatus of learning which distinguishes that book, and without the implicit parallels with modern Russian history which make his larger account of the fall of Roman civilization so "actual." Naturally we get in this book more insistence on economics, culture, religion, etc., than on political events or character; but though the author has little to say of Cicero he gives us excellent character-sketches of the Gracchi, Sulla, Caesar, Augustus, and the later Emperors. We may remark in passing that the Copenhagen head of Vespasian on Pl. 43 is a character-study in itself. Within the limits of his space he deals ably and freshly with the broader aspects of political history, and his account of the third century A.D. has a special value, as there are so few English works that give a general view of that crucial period.

It could not be expected that such a work would be quite free from minor inaccuracies, and we were struck by one in particular. On page 56 it is said that both Rome and Carthage were " based on a community of citizens and a citizen army numerous and well-trained " ; whereas on page 57 the exact opposite (and the truth) as regards Carthage is stated, thus : " At this period the citizens of Carthage hardly ever served in the ranks, and their places were filled by mercenaries and allies."

The two books are based on lectures to freshmen at Wisconsin University. They were first published in Russian at Berlin. Both the author, his translator, and the Oxford University Press deserve congratulations and thanks for the work, which with its pictures, maps, well-chosen bibliography, and fresh, modern style should have a great future as a worthy introduction to a great subject. M. T.

THE ORDEAL OF CIVILISATION. By James Harvey Robinson. New York and London : Harper. 1926. 16s. net.

THIS work forms the complement of Professor Breasted's *Conquest of Civilisation,* reviewed in a recent number of *Studies.* Mr. Robinson, however, has been allotted the more formidable task. He has to deal with the history of civilisation from the fall of the Roman Empire of the West to the Treaties of Locarno—in 750 pages. A comparison of the result with the achievement of Breasted would be, for obvious reasons, unfair.

The present volume does not address itself to the *Fachmann,* although the latter may find it useful as a handy and usually accurate reference-book. It has a wider and more popular mission : to lighten the darkness of the average American citizen, whose feverish pursuit of present-day values has left him little time to study the past. For such a reader the volume will be a god-send : it does not presuppose even an elementary knowledge of history, for Mr. Robinson takes no chances. At times even one wonders if he does not over-estimate the ignorance of his fellow-countrymen. Is it necessary, for example, to preface an account of 18th century London (p. 422) with the remark : " There were, of course, no street-cars or omnibuses " ?

In general, Mr. Robinson's attempt to summarise in popular fashion the main events, movements, and tendencies of medieval and modern times is quite successful. He has managed to include a surprising amount of detail—too much, I think, for a work of this kind. The resulting pressure on his space has compelled

him to treat of more important general topics with drastic brevity, and hence his work gives the idea of a certain lack of perspective. Thus, the feudal system is dismissed in a few unsatisfying pages, although Mr. Robinson is surely aware of its significance for practically every branch of our civilisation. Again, an account of the French Revolution which completely ignores the part played by Mirabeau (save for a passing reference to his action on June 3, 1789) is scarcely satisfactory. To take but one other instance, the story of the advent of the Ottoman Turks and their career in Europe is sufficiently important in the story of the Ordeal of Civilisation to merit some more detailed consideration than a few sentences inserted at the beginning of a subsection on "Austria under Maria Theresa and Joseph II."

Considering the amount of detail which he has chosen to include, Mr. Robinson is agreeably accurate, but some mistakes were inevitable, considering the extent of the period covered. Here again a few examples must suffice. The author has misunderstood the character of the *Leges Barbarorum* (p. 46). He is wrong in attributing to Gregory VII intervention on behalf of the Saxons *before* his excommunication of the Emperor (p. 117). Coming to more modern times, William I of Germany, a simple soldier rather than a statesman, probably never even understood the far-reaching political aims with which Mr. Robinson credits him (p. 574). The French Law of Separation of 1905 did not "place the churches at the disposal of the priests" (p. 588). The quotation on p. 595, a supposed extract from the general preamble of British Statutes, is used only in the exceedingly rare enactments which are passed into law by virtue of the Parliament Act in defiance of the House of Lords. Lastly, the date of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was 1923, not 1924 (p. 713).

A welcome feature of the book is its general impartiality. The author's treatment of such controversial subjects as Investiture, Reformation, Renaissance, and French Revolution is characterised by studious moderation. Even his discussion of the inevitable *Kriegsschuldfrage* is comparatively detached, although a slight under-current of anti-German bias seems present. In no case are Mr. Robinson's personal views obtruded in such a manner as to cause offence. Nor is the last chapter an exception, for the views expressed in it are not really offensive: they are merely silly.

D. A. B.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By H. Belloc. Vol. II, 1066-1348. London: Methuen. 1927. 15s. net.

INDISPUTABLY Mr. Belloc is to be ranked among the most versatile of contemporary Englishmen of letters. Whether in prose or verse, whether his mood is grave or gay, he has, as a writer, achieved distinction, and nearly all his literary work bears the impress of a sincere and vigorous personality, the individuality of which is unmistakable.

His latest volume displays many of the qualities that are characteristic of his work at its best: its honesty and sincerity of purpose, its vigour and lucidity of style, and especially its militancy of tone—indeed for Mr. Belloc literature is a kind of substitute for the medieval lists, and he is always ready to throw down his gage in defiance of opponents. For all its attractive qualities, his readers will have reason to feel on perusal of this volume that Mr. Belloc has not given them what they might rightly look for from a writer of his gifts when dealing with one of the most picturesque and fascinating periods of history. Here a writer of Mr. Belloc's imaginative and sympathetic quality could have drawn a vivid and convincing picture, but he has preferred to deal with the period rather in the spirit of the anatomist of institutions than in that of the artist. For the vigorous and varied and colourful life of the period, whether in castle or town or village, in monastery or university, he can find no space: his attention is given to analyses of civil and ecclesiastical policies, to the doings of royal or semi-royal personages; and there are "sundry small debatable points"—the phrase is Mr. Belloc's own—that seem to be discussed more because of the writer's propensity for argument than for their intrinsic importance. The result—a surprising one for Mr. Belloc—is that his pages frequently show a drabness of tone not unworthy of the veriest Dryasdust in the ranks of historians.

The dominant idea in Mr. Belloc's interpretation of history is that the chief determinant of social and political development in the life of nations is not race or language but religion. One may well question the soundness of this postulate. No one, indeed, save one wilfully blind to the plain facts of history, will doubt the importance of the religious factor, but there are other factors that are of no less importance. This is true to-day, and it has been true in the past; for men's actions have in every age been influenced by similar motives, and these are by no means exclusively, or even predominantly, religious. It is quite another thing to maintain that organised religion in the person

of the Church as, for instance, in the Middle Ages, or of the Scottish Kirk in the Scotland of the 17th century, was a predominating factor in social development; but this does not seem to be the meaning of Mr. Belloc's postulate.

Again, one may question the view which he seems to hold with the firmness that one might reserve for belief in an article of faith, *viz.*, the Continental, and even Gallic, origin of the chief institutions that developed in the England of the medieval period. The truth in this contention needed assertion as against the school of historians who sought a solely Teutonic origin for these institutions. But the truth is not to be found in either extreme, and the truth contained in Mr. Belloc's view has been underlined by others before him, notably by Maitland.

That the volume is very readable one need not say: Mr. Belloc is too practised a writer to need commendation on this score, although the plan of the volume, apparently designed to meet the needs of a student preparing for examination, makes the attainment of literary ease somewhat difficult. But one may justly quarrel with the conception of history on which he has written this book, with its insistence on what are not the most important things in a people's history, and its neglect of the people itself and its life. "What men have done and said," wrote Maitland, "above all what men have thought—that is history." And surely the true view of the historian's function is to regard it as the portrayal of a nation's life. The life of the Middle Ages is no less surely worthy of the imaginative and sympathetic treatment that a writer of Mr. Belloc's varied gifts and knowledge would have enabled him to give to it. His brief introduction on the general character of the period abundantly shows his qualifications for such a task. One regrets that he has viewed history from another angle; and if one is asked if his book makes any new contribution of value to the story of English history, one can only answer with a plain "no."

W. J. W.

CASHEL OF THE KINGS. By Rev. John Gleeson, P.P. Dublin: Duffy. 1927. xix + 312 pages. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

A GOOD historical sketch—documented—of Cashel of the Kings, the ancient capital of Munster, has long been desired, and therefore students of Irish history looked forward with eagerness to the new volume by Father John Gleeson, Parish Priest of Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, whose death, a few weeks after the publication of his book, is a distinct loss. Father Gleeson had previously

published a bulky volume on the district of Ely O'Carroll. In presenting the present work, he sets forth in his preface that he "was born in Ormond, educated in Thomond, and has been familiar during life with Desmond and the Decies."

Beginning with Corc, who may be said to have founded Cashel about the year 370, we are given sketches of the Kings of Cashel to the period of King Malachi, and of King Cormac MacCarthy. The author implicitly believes in Adrian's Bull, notwithstanding the considered view of Cardinal Gasquet and other distinguished scholars. He then devotes the remainder of the book to an account of the Archbishops of Cashel and Emly, from St. Ailbe to the present day, and of the various religious houses in the district. As a sort of Appendix there is given a contemporary notice of O'Connell's monster meeting between Thurles and Cashel, in 1843, and brief memoirs of Dean Kinane (author of "The Dove of the Tabernacle"), Rev. Dr. John Lanigan, and Michael Doheny. Curiously enough, the last five pages are devoted to an extract from Emily Lawless's historical novel of *Essex in Ireland*, and with this the volume ends.

Although the book contains a lot of valuable information, it is not documented and lacks an Index. There is no order in the narrative, and apparently many obvious sources of information, such as Sweetman's Calendar, the Patent and Close Rolls, the Calendars of Papal Letters, Dr. Laffan's *Tipperary Hearth Records*, Eubel's *Hierarchia Medii Aevi*, etc., have been overlooked. Instead of good engravings and maps, there are half a dozen illustrations of imaginary scenes, though it is only fair to add that there are good views of Holycross, Cashel, Ennis, the Brian Boru Harp, Daniel O'Connell, and Michael Doheny.

Among the numerous slips are the following :—Ussher is treated of as "Archbishop of Dublin" and as "the man who hewed down the crucifix" in the Franciscan Chapel in December, 1629. Of course this was Archbishop Bulkeley. The date for licence of election of John Cillingham was 1236, not 1230 ; the date of Robert Windele's provision is 1428, not 1429 ; and a dozen other slips occur in the episcopal succession. Two archbishops are omitted, namely, Michael, O.F.M. (1382-1384) and John Cantwell (1440-1442)—while it is not improbable that Miler Magrath died in the bosom of the Church.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Maps of Ireland

THE PRINTED MAPS IN THE ATLASES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. A bibliography, 1579-1870. By Thomas Chubb. Pp. xvii. 471. 11 maps and 21 illustr. London: Homeland Association. 1927. 50s.

While many Irishmen are familiar with the notable single maps of our country, such as those by Ortelius, Speed, Moll, Beaufort and O'Conor, the contents of those rather formidable objects, the atlases, are generally little known. In this scholarly and well-arranged bibliography Mr. Chubb has explored the atlases, and made their value and their interest clear to everyone who has any interest in the geography of his native country or county.

Book III of this monumental work is concerned with the atlases of Ireland, from the first edition of Petty's *Hiberniæ Delineatio* (1685) to Trelawney Saunders' maps of the Irish Boglands (1847), and contains descriptions of the maps in 19 atlases. Some forty other maps of Ireland or of her Four Provinces are described under Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland. Among other items, Mr. Chubb describes six editions of Petty's atlas, one being Bowles' rare edition of 1720 (Camb. Univ. Library); the scarce *Set of* 20 *New Maps of Ireland* by Moll, 1728 (T.C.D.); five editions of Scalé's *Hibernian Atlas* and W. Curry's *Road-maps for Tourists in Ireland*, 1844. There are also notes on the maps of the Four Provinces in P. van den Keere's *Maps of Great Britain & Ireland*, 1599, and on those in the various editions of Camden's *Britannia*.

Many of the atlases described are very rare. Some of them were acquired by Henry Bradshaw, whose great Irish collection is now in Cambridge University Library. Trinity College and the British Museum share the other rarities. The very interesting map of Ireland engraved by Hollar for Overton (1669) is, of necessity, omitted; but Griffith's fine maps of the Irish boglands (1810-1814) might well have been included. A valuable section of the work is Book IV, which is devoted to the lives, labours and publications of surveyors, engravers and publishers of maps. Many little-known men who worked on maps of Ireland, such as W. Hole, S. Dunn, T. Conder, S. J. Neale and W. Palmer here receive their due. W. Beaufort is not mentioned, although a drawing by him in the 1789 edition of Camden's *Britannia* is catalogued.

As a work of reference this book will be invaluable to librarians, collectors of maps and booksellers. Though he has

excluded single maps, the author has done a great service in making it easy henceforth to identify single maps found strayed, as so often happens, from their atlas-homes. Mr. Chubb has also collected here a great deal of the material available from English sources for a history of Irish cartography after 1685. Irish materials are very scanty, but of manuscript maps, including estate maps, there still exists a good number. Before Nowell's maps (c. 1570), we have only maps made by foreigners: maps used by Italian and Flemish traders, revisions of Ptolemy's maps and representations on maps of Europe or the world. In his valuable monograph on the Italian maps of the 14th to the 16th centuries (Proc. R.I.A. vol. 30, 1913), the late T. J. Westropp showed how useful these maps could be to illustrate the relations of Ireland with European countries. The maps described by Mr. Chubb differ from these, however, in that they deal, for the most part, with the interior of our island, its exploration, divisions and sometimes its exploitation. Many of them were regarded as documents of some political importance, although more important maps from a historical point of view have perished with our Record Office.

Now at last the materials for a history of Irish cartography are known and accessible. Such a history is urgently needed, if only as an aid to the study of Irish history and economics. An historian has not come forward yet,—although Mr. Michael Andrews by his geographical publications and particularly by his admirable monograph *The Map of Ireland*, 1300–*1700* (Proc. Belfast Nat. Hist. and Philosoph. Soc. 1923–4) has shown himself fully qualified for the task; but when he comes, his debt to Mr. Chubb's book will be considerable. E. L.

Mysticism

WESTERN MYSTICISM. With "Afterthoughts." By Dom Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B. New edition. London: Constable. 1927. 12s. net.

THE popular interest in mysticism at the present time is widespread and shows no sign of diminishing. Side by side with it, at least among non-Catholics, is an unwholesome growth of occultism; and it may occur to some to question the genuineness of the wheat that grows beside such cockle. A reassuring answer is supplied by the character of recent Catholic works on the subject. There could be no better sign, for example, than the appearance of a second edition of Abbot Butler's work after a

bare five years. For here is everything to delight the genuine student of the great Catholic tradition, and to repel the mere seeker of signs and wonders.

A re-arrangement of chapters has made the plan and purpose of the book much clearer, and thereby strengthened its unity and its interest. In the first part, some two hundred pages, the works of SS. Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard are put under contribution to test the claim of the mystics to have reached, at certain moments, a certain indefinable but immediate perception of God. Abbot Butler brings forward their testimony, and then weighs all the arguments against them with a courteous serenity that makes pleasant reading for friend or foe. He concludes firmly in the mystics' favour. In the second part of the book, the teaching of the same three doctors about the practice of the interior life is set before us. Besides his three chief witnesses, Abbot Butler draws largely on the stores of his wide erudition for illustrations of Western spirituality. His book is indispensable to students, and its spiritual value for the culture of the interior life is very high.

There is a point on which, perhaps, he might have been clearer. The type of mysticism he finds (correctly, I think, on the whole) in his three Doctors has certain definite characteristics. It is "pre-Dionysian" (though perhaps S. Augustine's neo-Platonist studies and their influence on his soul may be said to relate him to "Dionysius"), and as such it is distinguished from the doctrine of Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroek, St. John of the Cross, and (we may add) St. Thomas Aquinas. Secondly, it is "pre-scholastic," a difference that affects its exposition rather than its essence. Thirdly, there is no evidence in it of visions or revelations or "pychophysical phenomena" (in this connection I can hardly help feeling that Abbot Butler, against his custom, seems disposed to go beyond his evidence); and this divides it from the type we find in the lives of SS. Gertrude, the two Mechtilds, Hildegard, Bridget of Sweden, Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena, Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, Margaret Mary; to whom we could add St. Teresa, and in a lesser degree (as far as the frequency of their visions goes) St. Francis of Assisi and St. Ignatius Loyola. Abbot Butler is out of sympathy with the desire of the pious public for marvellous phenomena, and here he is in the good company of St. John of the Cross and in the better company of Our Lord Himself. Private revelations and visions are no doubt full of danger and fecund in illusion, and suffer the defects of the human clay in which they must perforce be moulded, even

when they are most truly divine. Nevertheless, as Abbot Butler himself notes, such divine communications have had their place, and no mean place, in the divine economy of the Church from the days of SS. Peter and Paul and John down to our own.

Now the point that naturally occurs to the reader is this: Why use the term "Western Mysticism" to denote a type or a school, eminent and venerable beyond question, but to which so many illustrious saints of the West do not belong? Abbot Butler answers (p. 191): ". . . Because it was the mysticism of the West until foreign elements, notably pseudo-Dionysius, came in, and because its principal exponent, St. Gregory, was typically Western, Roman, in mind and temperament . . ." He goes on to demonstrate the superiority of his favourite school; but that seems beside the point, and I confess to a wish that he had found a more apt title. He very justly criticises writers on mysticism who do not rest their theories on a sufficiently broad historical basis, even though they take as their authorities St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Teresa, and St. John of the Cross. Is there not a danger that the restricted definition of "Western Mysticism" might lead some of Abbot Butler's readers (he himself is protected by his wide studies and his wide sympathies) into a similar mistake?

And possibly, in contrasting different mystical types, too much stress is laid on differences that are psychological rather than spiritual. There are very great differences of colour and atmosphere between the pictures of the spiritual life painted for us by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. Yet it is not hard to feel the spiritual harmony between them, even if we did not know that in actual fact those two understood one another as hardly ever two friends did before or since.

In the present edition there are two valuable new features. The seventy odd pages of "Afterthoughts" give an admirably clear summary of recent controversies. Abbot Butler is impartially sympathetic; no easy task, for the *odium theologicum* is mild at times when compared with the *furor mysticus*. Yet a substantial agreement among the disputants seems already to be in sight, and Abbot Butler's pages ought to help towards it. The other new feature is a brief but illuminating discussion of natural ecstasy and non-Christian mysticism.

M. F. E.

STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS. By E. Allison Peers, M.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Volume I. London: Sheldon Press. 1927. 18s.

THOUGHTS OF BLESSED RAMON LULL for Every Day. Compiled by E. Allison Peers. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1925. 2s. 6d. (cloth); 5s. (leather).

In the March number of *Studies*, 1925, the present reviewer dealt with Professor Peers' *Spanish Mysticism, a preliminary Survey.* This year, in the first volume of his *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, the Gilmour Professor of Spanish adds to the debt of gratitude we there acknowledged. We all know something about St. Ignatius, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, but how very few of us know anything of Luis de Granada, Francisco de Osuna, Luis de Leon and Juan de los Angeles? These are the seven studied in this first volume, and as Professor Peers says in his introduction:—

> It may be doubted if any country but Spain can show seven similar figures within the compass of a century, even leaving out of account the multitude of lesser men, in the same period, to be studied hereafter. It is not unnatural for one to group them together, round the supreme central figures of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. St. Teresa, indeed, is the unifying personality among them all. St. John of the Cross is her chief lieutenant. The methods of St. Ignatius train her. Luis de Granada and Francisco de Osuna are two of her later teachers. After her death Luis de León is her earliest editor, while Juan de los Angeles is the greatest of those in Spain who hand on her teaching, through his own, into the following century. Could we have included in this volume St. Peter of Alcántara and Jerónimo Gracián, it would have been a Teresan study indeed. As it is, they, together with others connected less intimately with her life, will be presented next in order, showing how her influence extended more and more widely in its effect upon receptive temperaments, even as the ripples widen upon a placid lake.

In this paragraph Professor Peers outlines broadly the programme of his work. The seven very brilliant little monographs we get in this volume are in their way models; they are at once interesting and informative, full both of unction and scholarship. While there are touches which show that the writer is not quite of the household, there is not merely a freedom from offence, but a genuinely devout spirit in dealing with the lives and works of these Spanish servants of God. It is also a scholarly and critical spirit. Even with regard to St. Teresa, St. Ignatius and St. John of the Cross, we find some novel and interesting points, to say nothing of a magnificent bibliography. But on the lesser known mystics, like Francisco de Osuna, we get perfect treasure-houses of information. Not the least valuable part of this volume is

made up of Professor Peers's admirable translations, which show a real master's power over two languages. As we said of his former volume, this is a book to buy and keep on a handy shelf.

Professor Peers is as great a master of Catalan as he is of Castilian, and his translations of Ramón Lull are as fine as his versions of the Spanish contemplatives. This anthology of texts published by Burns, Oates and Washbourne makes a charming booklet; good both to read, to keep and to give away.

JOHN HOWLEY.

LES SAINTS DESERTS DES CARMES DECHAUSSES. Par le Rév. Père Benoit Marie de la Sainte-Croix, C.D. (Benedict Zimmerman). Paris: Librairie de l'Art Catholique; London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne; Dublin: Librairie Française. 1927. 2s. 6d.

FATHER BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D., shows in this small volume that he can write French as vigorously and fluently as we know he can write English. He unfolds for us a little known chapter in the history of Carmel. The Carmelite life in its origin was eremitical. In the Primitive Rule, written by St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, about 1210, the brethren were ordered "to live alone in their cells or near them, day and night meditating on the Law of the Lord and watching in prayer." When Carmel spread to Europe from the Holy Land, the eremitical and purely contemplative life was slowly transformed into the mixed life of contemplation and action, of prayer and preaching, like the other friars. But there ever remained the nostalgia of the hermit's cell, the desire for the purely contemplative life.

Father Zimmerman tells us in this little volume how this movement grew when the Teresan reform had restored the Primitive Rule and how certain Holy Deserts were established to enable the Carmelite to live, if only for a time, in the full accomplishment of his ideals of contemplation and solitude. In these super-houses of retreat he could live the eremitical life as perfectly as the Carthusian, in a silence and solitude as complete.

The account Father Zimmerman gives us of the rules and customs in these special convents of retreat remind us of the great days of Irish monasticism, when Ireland too had her "deserts." Now we consider a week's retreat very fervent. But a whole year's solitude! The history and fate of these Carmelite deserts, chiefly in Spain and Italy, form the bulk of the little volume, which affords us a very interesting sidelight on Carmelite spirituality.

JOHN HOWLEY.

Philosophy

CRITICA. Auctore Paulo Geny, s.j. New Edition. Rome: Gregorian University. 1927. Pp. xiii+415. 20 lire.

The new edition of P. Geny's *Critica* recalls the author's tragic death in Rome on October 12, 1925. On the morning of that day, when passing through the Via S. Basilio, he was attacked from behind by a soldier and bayoneted to death. Whether it was revenge for some imaginary wrong or a savage outburst of anti-clericalism remains uncertain. All the public heard was that the assassin had been locked up as a madman.

The present edition has been brought out by P. Boyer, .P Geny's colleague at the Gregorian. He has been a careful and faithful editor. No change has been made that was not authorized by P. Geny's MSS. notes in his own copy of the book. One drawback of this plan—P. Boyer recognises it—is that this edition neither incorporates various points of development in the author's doctrine nor does justice to philosophical literature, controversies and Congresses that are later than 1914. Few would have been as competent as P. Boyer to give us a thoroughly revised edition; but we appreciate his decision to let the author's text stand.

In spite of the limitations just indicated, the present volume is the best text-book on Criteriology we know. It has the qualities we expect in all good text-books of philosophy: it is clear, orderly, reasonably complete and well produced. But there are other reasons for which we prefer P. Geny's *Critica* to other manuals of the kind. In the first place, one recognises in P. Geny a mind that has tried to get inside the problem and think its way way out. Even where we disagree with the solution, or the author has changed his mind, the exposition is a real initiation. The second reason is this. When P. Geny went to Rome in 1910 he was rather eclectic in his outlook. He then began to study St. Thomas more closely and to test the philosophical and general educational value of his principles. He ended by becoming, at least on outstanding points, a convert. He was, of course, a very fervent convert; but he was something more. Intellectually he was sympathetic, but very critical and fearless. He was never afraid to disagree with other Catholic philosophers and even with his closest friends. In the *Critica*, once one has noted the points of development indicated by P. Geny, as well as in his edition of P. Remer's course, it is easy to recognise a mind that is on the move, exploring, advancing. From this point of view his writings are an interesting *apologia* and history of an intellectual pilgrimage.

D. S. N.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ABBE BAUTAIN. By William Marshall Horton, Ph.D. New York: University Press. 1926. Pp. 339.

ORIGIN OF THE SISTERS OF ST. LOUIS. With Details of the Life of their Founder, Abbé Bautain, from the French of Abbé de Régny. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1926.

THE simultaneous appearance of these two works might suggest a revival of interest in a somewhat forgotten figure of the early nineteenth century. If we distinguish between the man and the philosopher, we may welcome unreservedly the attempt to preserve the memory of the man; for the Abbé Bautain was a very admirable character. The story of his conversion is a religious romance, his devotion to high ideals an inspiration, and his apostolate an example of zeal well worthy of imitation. It is this aspect of his life which is most stressed in the second of the two volumes under review. The title disguises a little the nature of the contents. It is mainly a translation of Abbé de Régny's Life of Bautain, which is admittedly the most authoritative biography of the Philosopher of Strassburg in the French language. The English version is a welcome addition to our not too extensive Catholic biographical literature. It will appeal particularly to students of the history of the Church in the nineteenth century; but it should prove interesting and edifying to readers of every category.

Dr. Horton's work, as its title indicates, is primarily concerned with Bautain's philosophy and his place in the history of thought. It is a very sympathetic study of a Catholic thinker by an Associate Professor of Theology in the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology. This Protestant critic has certainly made a very thorough study of his subject and has brought to that study an astonishing insight into the mental background. The tone and temper of the writer is admirable, and still more admirable is his conscientious endeavour to be just to those parties to a heated controversy with whom he is palpably out of sympathy. It is a genuine pleasure, even for one who differs from the author's conclusions, to read a book where discussion is kept perpetually on so high a plane of objectivity and courtesy.

Bautain was the victim of a tragic mistake on the part of his ecclesiastical superior. Dr. Horton gives us the clue to the aberrations of one so loyal at heart to the Church: "For him [Goshler] and for Lewel and Ratisbonne, whose break with their kin came a few months later, Mgr. de Trévern prescribed a severe course of theological studies; but Bautain and Carl, who presented

themselves at Molsheim in August, 1828, received the tonsure and the minor orders on the third day after their arrival, were ordained sub-deacon on the fourth day, and then, after a two months' retreat under the direction of an old priest, were excused from further studies on the ground that they were sufficiently prepared " (p. 85).

The bishop soon had reason to repent of his indiscretion. In a short time he was forced to remove Bautain and his disciples from the chairs he had conferred on them and to demand a retraction of their errors. This led to a protracted controversy, only ended by Rome, which drew up six propositions—still found in Denziger-Bannwart 1622-1627—for Bautain to sign. This he did with a sincerity which Dr. Horton admits, and henceforth he enjoyed full ecclesiastical favour and support in his many zealous activities.

But his dream of *la grande synthèse* was shattered. The wonder is that he could have conceived such a dream, even in sleep, without making a profound study of the traditional philosophy and theology of the Church. He was a learned man and an assiduous student. But he had never devoted much attention to Scholasticism, towards which he felt an antipathy that sprang from ignorance and the prejudices of the *milieu* in which his earlier life was passed. Dr. Horton admits that he misunderstood Aristotle. But that misunderstanding was slight and venial compared with his misunderstanding of the Scholastics.

The root fallacy of his epistemology rests on a perpetual misuse of the word faith, which he could have found defined in any manual of theology. His present apologist claims that he did not preach Fideism in the precise form attributed to him. We need not dispute about this point ; for even in the form which Dr. Horton himself explains, it would still merit the censure it received.

In Bautain we find the pervasive influence of Kant, whose *Criticism of Pure Reason* he accepts *en bloc* while rejecting the *Criticism of Practical Reason*, which he holds to be a forlorn attempt to counteract the scepticism of the former work. But Bautain will not have scepticism at any price. Before his conversion he had tasted of its bitterness, and had almost been driven to suicide by the despair it causes. How does he propose to rescue himself and us from the slough of despond ? By the simple expedient of substituting for the two great faculties of reason and will three faculties : reason, intelligence and will. This enables him to accept all that Kant or any other anti-intellectualist says

about the impotence of reason and yet save our knowledge of truth by the intelligence, "which is the purest act of the mind," but is yet dominated by the will, for in Bautain's system the will is the highest faculty of soul and governs even our acquisition of knowledge.

It is hardly too much to say that the well-meaning Abbé concocted an agglomerate philosophy embodying the *membra disiecta* of all systems within his ken. Mitigated Scepticism, mitigated Fideism, mitigated Traditionalism, mitigated Ontologism, mitigated Romanticism, mitigated Neo-Platonism, mitigated Voluntarism, mitigated Pan-Vitalism, mitigated Pragmatism —out of such heterogeneous elements did he propose to construct an entirely new apologetic for the Church whose theology and philosophy were closed books to him. Small wonder he had to be repudiated.

Though we cannot share Dr. Horton's hope in a revival of Bautain's philosophy, nor endorse the intellectual leanings he betrays, we cannot but thank him for this volume, which he has succeeded in making astonishingly interesting and genuinely instructive—if only in what to avoid. P. J. GANNON.

Miscellaneous

THE WORLD OF IMAGERY. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. London: Kegan Paul. 1927. 12s. 6d. net.

M. JOURDAIN was surprised to learn in middle age that he had been talking prose all his life; and there are many people, his superior in culture, who would be surprised to know what a part imagery and metaphor play in their conversations and thought. Father Brown was well advised to begin his book with a chapter in which he takes a wide survey of the use of imagery; and even the least sympathetic reader cannot have read far in this fresh and suggestive chapter without beginning to realise that he has not to do with a subject which concerns only schoolmasters, grammarians or rhetoricians, but one that touches life and thought at many points. The student of language, the historian, the poet, the artist, the psychologist, the theologian—these have much to do with imagery in one way or another. Few even of well educated people know the extent to which every language is built up on metaphor—much of it dead or fossil, but valuable for the light it throws on the psychology and history of the people. How many of well informed people realise that practically all the description of our mental states and processes are metaphor

transferred from the sphere of concrete action and things ? Not every student of literature estimates what good writing owes to metaphor. There may be great prose that is sparing in imagery, witness Swift and Newman, but what does poetry owe to it ? Then the dependence of religious thought and teaching is absolute—for how could supernatural truth be taught except in terms and concepts of the natural world, and who ever used imagery so universally as Christ ? And so in art, psychology, and philosophy in general the need of metaphor can scarcely be exaggerated. The subject of imagery is then one not of mere academic interest.

A great deal has been written on it ; but it has not been viewed in all its amplitude by any previous writer, and the present volume is little more than an introduction to a long detailed study of several provinces of this vast subject.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the learning and diligence which the book displays. Fr. Brown must have read, marked and inwardly digested everything that has been written on his subject—he has even disentombed the " *Troposchematologia* by the Rev. Thomas Stephen, printed for and sold by Samuel Fairbrother, Skinner's Row, Dublin," early in the eighteenth century. Even if Fr. Brown had only made a survey of all that has been written on this subject, his work would have been worth doing.

But he has done more. The first few chapters are given to a study of the nature and origin of imagery : and this is the most important and original portion of the book. With keen insight and analytic power Fr. Brown searches for the ultimate elements into which metaphor may be resolved, and he carries his examination into the regions of psychology and even metaphysics. The chief difficulty is to justify the tacit identification of things in different spheres and quite unlike, which a metaphor involves : in other words, to safeguard the truth of it. Fr. Brown shows that this identification is founded not on actual resemblance, but on analogy, that is, on similarity of function or relations. In these chapters, written from full knowledge and with great lucidity and freshness, he has made a real contribution to the study of imagery. And only just less admirable are the pages given to showing what qualities prose owes to imagery—clearness, emotion, concreteness, colour, atmosphere.

The second and third parts of the book, in which the author applies and illustrates the theory examined in previous chapters, are less valuable. An immense industry and wide reading went

to the work of collecting and classifying the different kinds of imagery; but this portion is of a more practical and technical nature and resembles a handbook of rhetoric.

This volume is but a first attempt to explore a portion of a great subject; if the remaining explorations are carried out with the same thoroughness and insight, there will be little left for future gleaners—if Fr. Brown will permit a mixture of metaphors.

H. K.

THE MEANING OF THE RATIONES SEMINALES IN ST. AUGUSTINE. By Rev. Michael J. McKeough, O.Praem., M.A. Washington. 1926.

FATHER MCKEOUGH has chosen an important subject for this dissertation, which was "submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy." Since the publication of Canon Dorlodot's *Darwinism and Catholic Thought* in 1922, the old controversy about St. Augustine's theory of evolution has been revived in America. Father Henry Woods, S.J., published his *Augustine and Evolution* (New York, 1924) in order to refute Canon Dorlodot's claim that St. Augustine is a witness in favour of "the Catholic doctrine of evolution." Father McKeough is less controversial. Leaving aside the problem of evolution as such, he examines the principal passages in which St. Augustine speaks of *rationes seminales*. What are these *rationes*? Had they real physical existence? Can they be identified with germ cells? How did they develop? Was their potency active or passive? Were they dependent for their action on a special intervention of God's creative power, or on the influence of external, natural forces? Was a separate *ratio seminalis* determined from the beginning for each separate form, or were the *rationes* general, not specific? And, in particular, what was St. Augustine's teaching as to the time and order of the appearance of plant-forms, animal-forms and man?

Father McKeough holds that the *rationes* were real physical active powers of growth, which exerted their activity under the influence of purely natural causes. Here he differs from Father Woods, who sees in the *rationes* no more than passive powers, requiring a special intervention on God's part to produce their appointed result. On the other hand, Father McKeough holds, as against Canon Dorlodot, that the *rationes* of each form were specifically determined from the beginning. On the question of

Augustine's theory of evolution in the modern sense of the word, it is only fair to quote the author's own summing-up :—

> His teaching that the first individual of each species developed immediately from its potential condition to its proper form and remained constant in that form through successive generations, precludes any possibility of attributing transformism to him directly. Nevertheless his doctrine of the gradual appearance of living beings upon the earth through the operation of natural laws and secondary causes, constitutes a satisfactory philosophical basis for evolution, and merits for him the title of Father of Evolution.

St. Augustine, he holds, never reached a transformist theory of creation, because he accepted the current theories of spontaneous generation. Had he learnt the great biological principle—*omne vivum e vivo*—he would have sought and found the solution of his problem in some theory of transformist evolution. Father McKeough can claim the support of two recent scholars in this interpretation of St. Augustine's thought: Father E. Thamiry, whose first thesis, *De rationibus seminalibus* (Paris, 1905), has since been completed by his remarkable work *De l'influence* (Paris, 1922); and Father Cl. Boyer, S.J., whose dissertation on *L'Idée de Vérité dans la Philosophie de St. Augustin* (Paris, 1921) is an exceptionally able study of St. Augustine's thought. Father McKeough takes a less comprehensive view of his subject. The chapter in which he discusses the theory of *rationes seminales* before St. Augustine is particularly weak, and there is a tendency all through the earlier part of his work to accept the interpretations of St. Thomas as authentic instead of basing his conclusions on a direct study of the text. But this tendency is less apparent in later chapters, and his own judgment, when he speaks for himself, is sound and expressed in clear, thoughtful language.

A. G.

A COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. By T. E. Bird, D.D., Ph.D. Two volumes. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1927. 25s.

PERHAPS the most helpful way of describing this new and important work will be to note in what respects it differs from the similar work by Canon Boylan, of Maynooth, which Dr. Bird describes as "the best Catholic work on the subject in the English language." The present commentary, he tells us, was completed before Canon Boylan's was announced, but in revising it Dr. Bird has been able to avail himself of the earlier work.

Both works contain an ample introduction, largely covering the same ground. Dr. Bird, however, gives us (pp. 71-80) an

important list of passages in which the Vulgate is to be preferred to the version which St. Jerome made direct from the Hebrew, followed by another list giving passages in which both versions of St. Jerome seem to need emendation. There is also a long chapter on the titles of the Psalms and a careful study of the "imprecatory" psalms.

In dealing with individual psalms Dr. Bird's method is more elaborate than that of Canon Boylan. The latter's plan is to preface each psalm by an introduction of varying length. Then comes the Vulgate text with the translation in parallel columns. The notes follow. The new work deals with each psalm under the following distinct headings :—Title, Subject, Authorship, Application, Vulgate text, Translation, Observations, Notes. We miss from Dr. Bird's work the suggestive heading which Canon Boylan provides for each psalm.

Two noteworthy differences between the two works may here be pointed out. The first regards the translation. Canon Boylan's work is, according to its sub-title, "a study of the Vulgate Psalter in the light of the Hebrew text." His translation reflects this double preoccupation. It is in the main a translation of the Vulgate Latin, but it is very frequently modified by what the author finds in his Hebrew text. Dr. Bird does not profess to translate the Vulgate. His aim is frankly to give an English version reproducing as nearly as possible the meaning of the original Hebrew—not necessarily and in all cases that of the present received Massoretic Text; for he holds that the more ancient text, from which the Greek translation was made many hundreds of years before the Massoretic Text was established, may have been in certain respects nearer the original than is that text. It needs hardly to be said that both methods have their advantages. A very brief example from the twenty-second Psalm must suffice to illustrate the resulting differences in translation. The Vulgate version of the first verse is *Dominus regit me.* This the Douay version translates "the Lord ruleth me." Canon Boylan corrects to "the Lord guides me." Dr. Bird, following (along with the Anglican version) the Hebrew, translates "the Lord is my shepherd," which, as Canon Boylan observes in his note, gives the original image, developed in the succeeding verses. Similarly further down, *Calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est* is literally translated by the Douay "My chalice which inebriateth me how goodly it is." Canon Boylan translates "the cup which refresheth me how goodly it is." Dr. Bird's version, in accordance with the Hebrew, is simply "My cup overflows," which is equi-

valent to the Anglican "My cup runneth over." It would be too much to say that these passages are typical, but they illustrate a variation between the two versions that shows itself in a great number of passages.

The second of the two differences referred to is that Dr. Bird, unlike Canon Boylan, devotes a special section, entitled "Observations," to the critical discussion of the text. These Observations are plentifully sprinkled with Hebrew and Greek, as well as Latin, words, and are for scholars only. The ordinary reader will confine himself to the "Notes," which discuss not only the literal meaning of the psalm but its moral, spiritual, and often its Christian, significance. Here and there perhaps they are a little disappointing, as the author has already said most of what he had to say in the Observations.

An immense sum of labour has been put into the writing of this book, for Dr. Bird has throughout compared, word for word, the Hebrew Massoretic Text, the Septuagint Greek, and the Vulgate Latin. It only remains to add that the publishers have produced these volumes in a manner that gives no foothold to the fault-finder. S. J. B.

Shorter Notices

FRANCISCAN LITERATURE: SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRANCISCAN DOCUMENTS. By A. G. Little. Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. 32. 3/- net.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Royal Academy, this paper, the author tells us, was "communicated on the Feast of St. Francis, 1926." It is a critical collation of certain Franciscan documents discovered since the epoch-making publication of the "Speculum Perfectionis" by Paul Sabatier in 1898. The learned editor then assigned this work to 1227 or 1228. Subsequent researches by other Franciscan scholars seem to discredit such early assignation. Sabatier's "new and definite edition" of the "Speculum" is accordingly awaited with much interest.

The documents dealt with here by Mr. Little are: (1) "Documenta Antiqua Franciscana," edited by Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M. (3 Vols. Quaracchi, 1901-2), printed from Codex 1/73 of St. Isidore's College, Rome. (2) The Philipps MS. 12290, now in possession of A. G. Little. (3) The Perugia MSS. 1046 (M.69), edited by F. M. Delorme, O.F.M., in 1902 and 1926. The relations of these three documents to the "Vita Secunda" of Celano and the "Speculum Perfectionis," as edited by Sabatier, are here subjected to the most minute dissection, the result being summarised in thirteen pages of tables, which show the agreements and disagreements at a glance. Students of Franciscan origins owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Little, who is one of the most cautious, impartial and painstaking of critics. The subject of which he treats, though of little interest here, has fascinated the ablest historical critics of the Continent. G. C.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES. By the Rt. Rev. Monsignor H. K. Mann. Vol. XIII. Honorius III to Celestine IV. 1216-1241. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 15/- net.

After a lapse of ten years, due of course to the crippling influence of the war, the indefatigable Mgr. Mann has given us another volume of his "History of the

Popes." The characteristics of this series are so well known that they call for no detailed description. The present volume, in style and method, follows closely on its predecessors. To say that Frederick II (that strange agnostic Emperor, born at least five centuries out of due time) figures largely in its pages is to say that it abounds in incidents more incredible often than romance. Until the day comes when Grisar's great work (cut short unhappily after one volume) is resumed and completed, and the centuries between Gregory the Great and the Renaissance are treated of in a series that will meet the requirements of modern scholarship, Mgr. Mann's achievement will be deservedly popular. J. R.

IRISH FOOTPRINTS ON THE CONTINENT. By the Rev. D. O'Mahony, B.D., B.C.L. London: Sands. 1927. 5/- net.

FOR Irishmen at home the lives of Irishmen abroad are of perennial interest. Father O'Mahony, like so many others in recent times, has been active on the Continent, seeking memorials of their doings, studying at close quarters the lands where they lived and laboured and the sacred places where the more distinguished amongst them found a last resting place. If his booklet does not add greatly to our knowledge of the earlier epoch, when Columban and his successors infused new life into a barbarised Europe, it at least tells much that is valuable of the later periods. Those of us, for instance, who have never enjoyed the privilege of a visit to Rome scarcely realize how rich the Eternal City is in Irish memories. And how few there are who could give even in general summary the history of the Irish Colleges abroad! How few indeed who could tell what part the Irish Colleges in Rome and Paris and Salamanca have played in giving great ecclesiastics to the Church in the last century! For the mass of information it gives on this and kindred subjects Fr. O'Mahony's book is very welcome. The Irish nationality of all the saints he accredits to our race would not, perhaps, stand the test of critical investigation, any more than the view of Munster history which he insinuates in the statement that the McCarthys were "rather successful rivals of the O'Mahonys." J. R.

SOME ROMAN MONUMENTS. By Cara Berkeley. 2 vols. London: Sheed & Ward. 1927. 18/- net.

THERE are many guides to Rome, but few as odd as these two volumes. Without maps or plans or illustrations (except a frontispiece for each volume), the author has attempted to give a mass of general information for the benefit of those visitors who know little or nothing of Roman history. The idea is excellent, but an amateur should not have attempted the task. Mythical legends are mixed up with curious personal anecdotes and important facts of history; and the sins of omission can only be described as amazing. Half the most important monuments in the Forum are omitted, though space is found for a full transcript of the legendary "Will of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste," whose chapel is in the Forum; and nothing at all is said of the Palatine, with its tremendous ruins.

There is a "Historical Sketch" of all Roman history in the second volume, occupying about 100 pages, of which the less said the better. Christian archæology fares as badly. St. Peter's is described (somewhat scrappily), together with six other great Basilicas and a few early churches; but nothing at all is said of the new finds at San Sebastiano, and the whole story of St. Peter at Rome is very inadequately told. Perhaps the best section is the account of the Roman Walls, for the author plainly loves a good scramble among little-visited ruins. Here is an anecdote characteristic of the whole work: "My chauffeur carries a clothes-brush as a matter of course, but I have also been dusted by every sort of person in Rome, custodes and guides, monks and lay-brothers, a canon regular of the Lateran and a magnificent unknown individual in uniform, a flowing cloak and medals. I enquired of him where a certain thing could be found: he denied all knowledge of it, regarded me for a moment with marked disfavour, evolved a brush—apparently from the blue—dusted me from head to foot, gravely saluted and withdrew." A. G.

POETRY OF IRISH HISTORY. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1927. 6/-.

FIFTEEN years ago Miss M. J. Brown published her very useful collection of Irish historical ballads under the title, "Historical Ballad Poetry of Ireland." It was a first attempt to realise one of the favourite ideas of Thomas Davis—"to make Irish History familiar to the minds, pleasant to the ears, dear to the passions, and powerful over the taste and conduct of the Irish people in times to come." Father Brown has re-edited that first attempt, enlarging as well as improving. Sixty-six new poems have been added, and this ballad history of Ireland has been carried down to James Stephens's "Spring, 1916." It is a real joy to know once again the melody of those lines, and Father Brown has done well to include the fiery lyrics of Dora Sigerson Shorter and Tom Kettle's gallant verses. Not all the poems included are up to that standard, but there are many old friends whom it is a pleasure to meet again, and many new friends whom it is worth while getting to know. There are two new sections: "Ireland beyond the Seas" and "Love thou thy Land," which have made it possible to include some fine verses that are not strictly historical ballads; and Father Brown has been at pains to enlarge his list by adding after each poem the titles and references of other ballads dealing with the same subject. P. D.

DE LA VOCATION D'ECRIVAIN CHRETIEN. By A. Décout. Paris: Beauchesne. 1926. 12 fr.

WOULD a young man who is before all things a Catholic do well to take up the career of letters? And if he does adopt it, in what spirit and with what preparation ought he to enter upon it? In answering these queries, much as Père Gratry had answered them in *Les Sources*, the author discusses, from the Christian standpoint, the whole question of authorship—its dangers, its difficulties, its responsibilities, its ideals. He is thus led to dwell on the true aims of art, the meaning and significance of literary style, imitation and originality, the writer's relation to his work, the winning of literary reputation, the compatibility of authorship with other careers in life, and various kindred topics.

The book is quite short—200 small pages, of which 50 consist of extracts bearing on various passages of the book. But it is full of thought. And the style, alert, vivid, charged with imagery, rich in literary allusions, is worthy of the subject.

One can scarcely read this book without gaining a deepened sense of the writer's responsibility as necessarily, even in his least didactic moments, a preacher and teacher to those who read him; of the need of wide and varied knowledge as a first condition for writing anything that is worth while; of the unremitting labour and self-consecration required of the true writer; of the high mission that is his if he will but fulfil it.

Given the needed gifts a writer who from the outset would model himself according to this little book would become a power in the land. S. J. B.

Books also received:

AIGRAIN, ABBE R. ... Ecclesia. Encyclopédie populaire des Connaissances religieuses. (Blond et Gay, 45 fr.).

BARKER, J. ELLIS ... America's Secret. (Murray, 7/6).

BEARD, CHARLES A. ... The Rise of American Civilization. 2 vols. (Cape, 50/-).

BRAYE, LORD ... Fewness of my Days. A Life in two Centuries. (Sands, 18/-).

BREASTED, JAMES H. ... A Brief History of Ancient Times. (Ginn, 3/-).

BROWN, WILLIAM ... Mind and Personality. (London University Press, 12/6).

CAPPELLO, FELIX ... Tractatus Canonico—Moralis de Sacramentis. Vol. II.—De Poenitentia; Vol. III.—De Matrimonio. (Turin: Marietti, L. 32 et 35).

CHARTERIS, EVAN ... John Sargent. (Heinemann, 30/-).

COLLI-LANZI, C. ... Theologia Moralis Universalis. Vol. II.—De Virtutibus. (Marietti, L. 16).

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GAMBLE, WILLIAM ... The Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Its Inheritance in Source—Valuation and Criticism. (Catholic University of America, pp. 202).
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The Letters of Saint Teresa. Translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, 1919–1924. Appendix to fourth volume, consisting of 22 recently discovered letters and some fragments. (Baker, 1/6).

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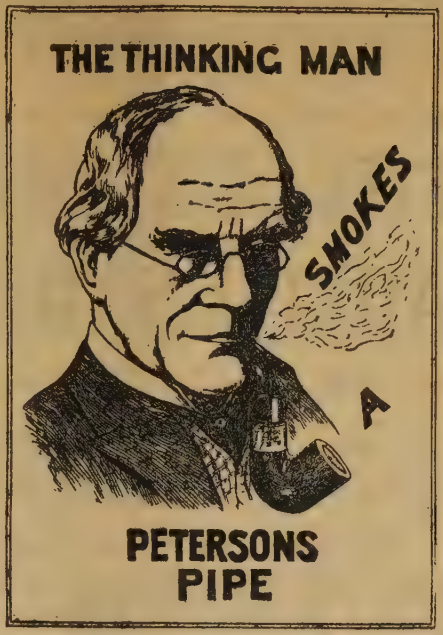

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